Daily Report

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Bulgaria

Foreign Ministry spokesman Veneta Momcheva, in a telephone statement to Sofia radio, outlined the reply to a letter from UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali asking about support for UN monitoring of heavy weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The reply states: "Bulgaria would support a possible UN Security Council resolution on monitoring these weapons," noting that "Bulgaria might be able to assist in fulfillment of the resolution by providing logistic support within its capabilities, coordinated with the CSCE member states." In conclusion, he states: "Other interpretations on this subject, such as the one published in yesterday's issue of the 24 CHASA newspaper, based on talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev, are inaccurate and speculative."

Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that President Dobrica Cosic and Prime Minister Milan Panic met with Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister, in Belgrade on 21 August. Following his meetings, Churkin stated: "Russia is striving to maintain its unbiased attitude toward the complex crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia as it attributes a great deal of significance to the upcoming London Conference on Yugoslavia."

In his meeting with a visiting CSCE delegation headed by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, TANJUG reports that Milan Panic asked the delegation "to assist in facilitating talks the government initiated with the legitimate representatives of the Albanians in Kosovo." CSTK reports Moravcik "summed up" the meeting with Panic, stating: "Panic was skeptical about sending CSCE missions to areas where national minorities live."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

In a phone conversation with TANJUG, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, commented on the upcoming Conference on Yugoslavia in London on 26 August. He stated: "Chances for the success of the London Conference on Yugoslavia are not slight, provided that the European Community and other participants in the conference opt for a new approach that implies the understanding of the problem and an unbiased attitude toward the warring sides."

Croatia

According to Zagreb Radio, Vladimir Seks, "deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Commission for UNPROFOR," sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali "expressing dissatisfaction over the procrastination of the Yugoslav Army in withdrawing from the municipality of Dubrovnik."

Albania

Commenting on the "turbulent atmosphere being created" in the Greek mass media, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi said, "The Greek Government should dissociate itself from and stop the feverish and undermining activities of the Greek reactionary and chauvinistic circles," ATA reports.

Serreqi Accuses Greek Media of Propaganda

AU2008200392 Tirana ATA in English 1201 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—The Greek Government should dissociate itself from and stop the feverish and undermining activities of the Greek reactionary and chauvinistic circles, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Serreqi said to the reporter of the ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY. Referring to the turbulent atmosphere being created in the Greek mass media, the minister said that we are sorry to see the reactivation of the North Epirus circles guided by an unbridled anti-Albanian propaganda.

Minister Alfred Serreqi aired his worry over the undesirable situations being created in the relations between Albania and Greece and called on the Greek Government to turn the course of the Greek mass media for the good of further development and strengthening of relations between our two neighbouring countries and peoples.

Regarding the non approval by the Albanian Government of the mediation of Greece in solving the problem of Kosovo, the foreign minister said that no Balkan countries can assume the role of a mediator, more over at a time when each one has its own problems in the region. Such efforts only distort the image of the peace conference in London and the engagement of the international organisms in solving the crisis in former Yugoslavia and the problem of Kosovo in particular.

In its foreign policy the Albanian Government, he said, gives priority to the national question and will develop relations with the other neighbouring countries depending on how much these countries will influence on the positive or negative solutions of this issue. Likewise, Minister Serreqi said in conclusion, the Cam problem, as part of the all-national question, as well as the problem of the Greek minority should be treated based on the principles of understanding and good neighbourliness.

Greek Police Return 200 Refugees at Kakavije

AU2008173292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] The Greek Army and police returned more than 200 Albanian refugees at the Kakavije Border Checkpoint in Gjirokaster on the morning of 19 August. The appearance of these refugees is miserable, but this tableau is now ordinary. Three to four buses, which bring refugees who are caught at Ioannina Border Checkpoint or gathered in Athens and other remote areas, come from the Greek side every day. The destiny of those who are caught in the surroundings of Ioannina is more perilous, because the prison of this city has become well- known and is terrible for Albanians. The Greek militarymen have set up tents in some key points along the roads. After several questions, they divide the arrested Albanians into Albanians and Vorioepiriots. The physical mistreatment of Albanians constitutes if not a pleasure for them, at least a part of their duty. The situation of those who have a Muslim name on their identity cards is even worse.

Serbian Police Raid Albanian Party Offices

AU2108093392 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 4 Aug 92 p 3

[Report by the National Unity Party: "Police Again Enter the Offices of UNIKOMB"]

[Excerpts] The Serbian Government has been increasing its institutional and noninstitutional activities against everything that is Albanian. Thus, the Serbian police, continuing their threats, intimidation, provocations, and repression against the National Unity Party [UNIKOMB] in Pristina, entered the offices of this party twice in one week. Last Sunday, on 1 August, at around 1700, after working hours, when the premises of this party were closed, the Serbian police called the owner of the house where the offices of this party are located, and commanded him to open the private entrance gate used for his family. They reached the offices of the party and took all the drawers out of the desks, typewriters, table with the sign of UNIKOMB, and some other things. [passage omitted]

The attack against UNIKOMB is at the same time an attack against the political life of Albanians and in this case against all the Albanian political parties. It would be incomprehensible for the political parties to remain quiet about this case and not react, and it would show that we have not coordinated our political forces. UNIKOMB calls on all the Albanian political organizations, parties, the Coordinating Council of the Albanian Political Parties, and other associations to raise their voice of protest against the harsh acts of the Serbian government, which is against everything that is Albanian and against our political and social life, the UNIKOMB Council for Information states.

Political Prisoners Criticize Helsinki Committee

AU2008124792 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 20 Aug 92

["Albanian Helsinki Committee Facing Severe Criticism"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—The Albanian National Association of the Former Political Prisoners and Persecuted Ones of Albania stated that the Albanian Helsinki Committee has not fully carried out its sacred mission in the field of defending human rights in Albania.

In a statement for the press, the association reaffirms that this organism would be more efficient and prestigious, if this committeee would not be headed by Mr. Arben Puto. He does not enjoy the necessary reputation to be at its head, as one of the most zealous activists and

propagator of the CPA (PLA) [Party of Labor of Albania], the most savage violator of human rights in Albania.

Airing our considerations about Mr. Arben Puto, we do not identify him with other communists, honest people, who were deceived by the leadership of the CPA, the statement says, adding that, according to the testimonies published in the daily democratic press, especially in the newspaper ILLYRIA, organ of the former political prisoners and persecuted ones, Mr. Arben Puto seems to be one of the main and unscrupulous persecutors of the democratic, nationalist and anticommunist students in the years 1945-1946 in the gymnasium of Tirana. He is author of the works falsifying the history of Albania and glorifying the communist dictatorship and Enver Hoxha, whose devotion he manifested of late with his tearfulness over the TV, the day of the tyrant's death.

He has adopted a double face stand to our association, the statement says. In his meetings with foreign representatives he has formally defended our rights, whereas in practice he has not properly defended them, he has maintained and maintains a contemptous stand, he has never come to our association to engage in solving our demands. He has claimed himself neither as a democrat activist or as an anticommunist or dissident, even when courageous opinions were aired through the press which paved the way to the great democratic transformations. He has taken part in no practical activity of the democratic movements to topple the dictatorship, until the beginning of December 1990. Mr. Arben Puto has had close family relations with two former blockmen, members of the political bureau, one of whom has been deputy premier and chairman of the expulsion-deportations commission.

After clarifying the identity of the chairman of the Albanian Helsinki Committee, the statement says that "for our association the Albanian Helsinki Committee will be more respected and more credible without Mr.Arben Puto, but with such persons who enjoy respect with their honest life and who have proved to be against against red violence and, perhaps, victims since its beginnings.

Confidence is built up when the members and representatives of this committee are always objective and resolute to defend human rights at any time and any situation.

This statement is made known to the Helsinki Federation, Vienna, to the human rights federation in Paris, Frankfurt, human rights commission centered in Geneva, "Helsinki Watch" human rights organisation in the USA, Helsinki national committees, European Council [Council of Europe] and European Parliament.

In this relation the newspaper LIRIA organ of the Albanian national organisation of the former political prisoners and prosecuted ones, carries writings by age companions of Mr. Arben Puto, which say that a person caressed by that cruel former communist regime, which for years on end has trampled underfoot the human rights, cannot defend them.

These articles provide events and facts lived through, recalls how Mr. Arben and his friends beated in 1945-1946 their class mates in the gymnasium of Tirana for ideological intolerance. The article by Mr.Pirro Vila says that: "the students of the gymnasium 'Qemal Stafa' of Tirana very well recall that just as you came there in the first years after the war, an open physical and psychological terror started against those students who manifested [words indistinct]. You have been one of the main organizers of all those hooligan acts against the democrat students. Beatings, blackmail, expulsions down to arrests bear your seal".

Whereas the article written by Mr.Hamid Shehri and Mr. Nexhat Tartari jump to the conclusion that "airing our own views, we say that in this sound climate of democratic blooming time has come that such [word indistinct] as Mr.Puto be uprooted from the worn out body of Albania to give room to the people who really think and live for human rights. [no closing quotes as received]

Foreign Ministry Rules Out Intervention in Yugoslavia

AU2108104692 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Telephone statement by Foreign Ministry Spokesman Veneta Momcheva in Sofia on 21 August; "just received"—recorded]

[Text] I would like to inform the public of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry's reply to the UN secretary general's letter, in which he asked states to inform the United Nations of their ability to provide support in the event of an extension of the mandate for the blue helmets in former Yugoslavia to cover monitoring of heavy weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry's letter states that the reckless use of heavy weapons has exacerbated the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is why Bulgaria would support a possible UN Security Council resolution on monitoring these weapons. This would help limit the terror inflicted on the civilian population, facilitate humanitarian aid deliveries, and aid in the fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 770.

In line with its principled position of not sending its armed forces or weapons into neighboring states—which Bulgaria calls upon other Balkan states to follow—our country is unable to contribute military personnel or equipment to monitor heavy weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the event of the UN Security Council adopting a resolution to extend the mandate for the peacekeeping forces in the former Yugoslavia by assigning them such a task, Bulgaria might be able to assist in fulfillment of the resolution by providing logistic support within its capabilities, coordinated with the CSCE member states.

Other interpretations on this subject, such as the one published in yesterday's issue of the 24 CHASA newspaper, based on talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev, are inaccurate and speculative.

Cabinet Acts To Stop Fuel Exports to Serbia

AU2108105992 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 18 Aug 92 p 2

[Lyuba Dimitrova report]

[Text] Finance Minister Ivan Kostov claims that about 300 tonnes of fuel are exported everyday to Serbia and Montenegro through the Bregovo and Vrushka Chuka border checkpoints.

The absence of any legislation to restrict this form of export is leading to a steady rise in the number of individuals who repeatedly cross the border. Reports from customs offices show that members of the same family, by taking turns in making cross-border "raids," often manage to earn good profits in a single day. The regulations for applying the Customs Law exempt fuel and lubricating materials contained in normal vehicle tanks from import and export duties, and this leads to conflict between travelers and customs officers.

With a view to forestalling opportunities for speculation, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov has submitted to the Council of Ministers a proposal to restrict journeys by private and commercial vehicles to Serbia and Montenegro. In Kostov's view, the regulation should limit border crossings by a particular vehicle to once every 15 days.

The Foreign Ministry has no comment to make on the draft regulation, merely noting that "in general, the measures that are to be adopted should not violate the rights of Bulgarian citizens to leave the country and return to it."

[Sofia BTA in English at 1706 GMT on 20 August reports: "The use of passenger cars and station wagons owned by local persons for travel to Serbia and Montenegro has been limited to once in 15 days, the cabinet decided today.]

Finance Minister Criticizes National Bank

AU2108071592 Sofia BTA in English 1322 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—"I am convinced that August inflation will not exceed 2.8 per cent," Finance Minister Ivan Kostov told the press today when asked to comment on the National Statistical Institute projections, according to which conditions for an inflation surge are emerging in Bulgaria.

The growth of personal incomes does result in some strain, the finance minister believes. In his view, the larger disposable income is rarely spent on consumption. "People deposit part of their money with banks and another part is absorbed by the market, and that is why I don't think that we can expect a surge of inflation," Mr. Kostov said.

The intervention of the National Bank of Bulgaria in support of the dollar rate is unjustified, according to the finance minister. The National Bank is buying most of the offered foreign exchange at rather high rates and supply is steadily outdistancing demand in the market, Mr. Kostov told reporters in the Council of Ministers.

He believes that the bank should set fixed limits for the purchase of foreign exchange and should let the dollar rate normalize. In this way the dealers will find out what the actual dollar rate is, the finance minister said.

These mass purchases threaten the reserves of the National Bank, too, the minister believes. Besides, the right thing to do would be for the National Bank to move away from the foreign exchange market so that the Finance Ministry could buy the foreign exchange it needs at a normal rate.

National Bank Head Admits Differences With Kostov

AU2108071792 Sofia BTA in English 2012 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—"There is no confrontation between the bank and the Ministry of Finance. There are rather certain differences in the assessment of some strategic points in the exchange policy of the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB]," the BNB governor, Prof. Todor Vulchev told the press tonight. "We should of course reckon with the opinion of the minister of finance but we would not yield to any pressure, not even on the part of the Council of Ministers, because the BNB is an independent institution by law," Prof. Vulchev said. He also specified that the nine-member Governing Board which outlines and regularly revises the exchange policy can be expected to analyze Minister Kostov's assessment not before next Thursday [27 August].

It was made known that the central bank has not changed its exchange policy and has kept a relatively stable exchange rate of the Bulgarian lev and the U.S. dollar since the beginning of the year. The fact that the dollar price was kept around the 23-leva mark has stimulated the export, according to Prof. Vulchev. In the first six months of 1992, the country had a trade surplus in hard currencies for the first time in many years—over 2,000-million-dollar export in hard currencies, which is expected to exceed 4,400-5,000 million dollars. The country's foreign exchange reserves have been increased: 952 million dollars (gold reserves excluded) by July 30 and 1,400 million dollars, including the gold reserves. Prof. Vulchev reminded that Bulgaria's exchange reserves amounted to only 50 million dollars at the very start of the reform and the relatively stable exchange rate has not been inflationary so far, in spite of the growing prices.

The BNB's exchange policy strategy is correct, the bank's governor reiterated, specifying that a slight change in this strategy can be observed in the last month or so. It is directed towards a smooth drop in the exchange rate until it reaches below the 23-leva mark. The bank continues to buy dollars and since July 1, i.e. in the last 50 days, we have bought a total of 173 million dollars at the market and have sold about 33 million. In other words, we have made net purchases amounting to 140 million dollars. A decrease of 0.55 leva in the exchange rate is something quite substantial, Prof. Vulchev said.

He believes that if the exchange rate balance should be set by the market without the central bank's interference, as suggested by Finance Minister Kostov, this will lead to sharp fluctuations and uncertainties and is bound to breed speculations though there are almost no speculators on the foreign exchange market at present.

Government Adopts New Rule in Power Supply Sector

AU2008201292 Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Government today approved a production and transfer of electric power bill which creates conditions for competition in this industry as it extends preferential treatment to small utilities using renewable energy sources: wind, solar and water power and biomass.

Under the bill, acting through the government consumers will have the right to set requirements to electricity supply entities for power supply cuts through their fault or for supply of low-quality power. According to the bill, electricity may not be imported without government permission.

At its meeting today the Council of Ministers gave the National Electricity Company the right to remedy against consumers who default in the payment of their electricity bills. The National Electricity Company and the consumers in the public and consumer-services sector will sign special contracts including clauses on extra deposits and advance payment covering expected energy consumption for one or two months.

President Postpones Visit to Israel

AU2008201192 Sofia BTA in English 1606 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—BTA learnt from the office of the president that President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria has postponed the visit which he was scheduled to pay to Israel from August 31 to September 3.

As the visit is not just a protocol function but a business trip, the sides have agreed on its postponement to give experts more time to draft all documents which are expected to be signed. The office of the president offered other arguments as well: Some of the agreements have to be considered by the National Assembly which is now in recess, and the new Israeli Government should also have enough time to prepare for the talks.

A date for the visit will be fixed later on

EC Commission Imposes Steel Import Quotas

AU2008142592 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Aug 92 pp 1, 15

["(hof)"-signed report: "Limits Imposed on Czechoslovak Steel Exports"]

[Text] After long and complicated meetings, the EC Commission on Monday [17 August] approved a measure expected to prevent increasing imports of some Czechoslovak steel products to the FRG, France, and Italy.

As we learned from well-informed sources in Brussels, measures of two kinds are involved: the so-called decisions and recommendations of the EC Commission. Recommendations may be not obligatory, but they entitle the authorities of the three countries to introduce limiting measures by imposing import licenses. The commission also fixed the quantities for individual types of goods in which the licenses should be issued. The limits include a large quantity of steel that has already been exported to the three countries.

The commission recommended the following quotas to the German Government: wire rods—163,635 tonnes, coils—39,845 tonnes.

Limits on cold rolled sheets recommended to the French Government were 30,975 tonnes and 25,770 tonnes on coils. Italy should issue licenses for the import of 36,355 tonnes of coils.

As it ensues from the official standpoint, according to the EC Commission the current increase in imports from the CSFR indicated that domestic producers could suffer significant losses, since the Czechoslovak products were 20 to 30 percent less expensive than the current market price in the EC countries.

At the same time, the EC Commission made it clear that it would consider it appropriate if Czechoslovak steel exports to the EC countries would increased 20 percent compared to last year.

The EC Commission decision to limit steel tube exports to Germany will come into force immediately. The following quotas were determined for 1992: seamless tubes: 62,230 tonnes, welded or otherwise joined tubes (item 73.06 of the customs tariff): 23,650 tonnes.

The decision was justified by the fact that 7,400 tonnes of seamless tubes have already been exported from the CSFR to Germany, which is a 420-percent increase over last year's level. The increase in the import of welded tubes was even more pronounced and reached 620 percent. While the Czechoslovak producers participated in Germany's consumption of seamless tubes by 8.3 percent last year, their share reached 18 percent this year.

The Italian Government, too, demanded a ban on tube exports. However, they did not present all the documentation and only announced that they would monitor the situation on the domestic market. According to the experience with the application of quotas on the German market, they will either waive their demand or will demand that the EC Commission adopt a similar decision. Measures will be applied by the end of this year, for the period for which the temporary association treaty between the CSFR and the EC is valid.

Official Criticizes Decision

LD2008174692 Prague CSTK in English 0842 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Bratislava August 20 (CSTK)—It is natural for the European Community countries to protect themselves against imports of cheap rolled material from Czechoslovakia, but the reaction is disproportionate if not allergic, Jozef Frankovsky, director of raw materials mining and metallurgy department of the Slovak Economy Ministry told TK SR [Czechoslovak News Agency of the Slovak Republic] Wednesday [19 August].

Frankovsky was reacting to an August 17 decision by the European Community commission by which it allowed Italy, Germany and France to reduce imports of some steel products from Czechoslovakia.

He said Czechoslovak steel constitutes a mere 0.6 per cent of the EC countries' total consumption, Frankovsky said.

Bartolomej Petoe of the Slovak Economics Ministry told TK SR that last year Czechoslovakia exported to the EC countries 841,000 tonnes of steel. Of the total 275,000 tonnes were supplied by Slovakia, Petoe added.

For 1992, the EC allowed for a 20 per cent increase in Czechoslovak exports. In the first five months, Czechoslovak steel exports totalled 519,000 tonnes which means the agreed increment was highly exceeded, Petoe said.

He cited as another cause of the EC's indignation low prices of Czechoslovak steel - 20 to 30 per cent below world ones.

Frankovsky said increased Czechoslovak exports of steel are due to a big decline in sales on the home market. In 1989 about two-thirds of rolled material produced in Slovakia were consumed on the home market and the remaining one third was destined for exports. Now the proportion is the other way round he added.

Frankovsky said there is hope for a reasonable compromise to be reached in negotiations with the EC. But the best solution would be revival on the home market which would compensate for the losses caused by the EC protectionist measures, he pointed out.

Klaus Provides Information on Talks With HZDS

AU2008181292 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Aug 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Ivana Vajnerova, Jiri Leschtina: "Generosity Is in Czech Interest"]

[Excerpts] At yesterday's closed meeting of all clubs of deputies represented in the Czech National Council, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus provided information on the development of talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. [passage omitted]

According to the Czech prime minister, it will be particularly difficult conceptually to find an optimal variant of economic cooperation where the available options range from a mere free trade zone up to a payment union. Speaking about relations with Slovakia in general, Klaus said: "One of the Czech Republic's basic interests is that independent Slovakia remain part of democratic Europe, that it join the integration process, and develop political plurality. We realize that the Czech side bears a certain share of responsibility for the fate of Slovakia. However, a consistent separation of the two republics is necessary to even be able to exercise this responsibility. Any effort exerted by the Czech side would otherwise be understood as interference in the internal affairs of Slovakia."

Most contributions to the discussion by representatives of the opposition concerned the "search for ways" to save the federation. Vaclav Klaus therefore drew attention to the fact that Slovak representatives insist on Slovakia being a subject of international law, which rules out the idea of a common state. This is also true of the union-type variant [spolkova varianta]. Despite the repeated rejection of this variant by Slovak representatives, Vaclav Klaus asked Vladimir Meciar for a written standpoint, which, however, he has not yet received.

Jaroslav Vlcek (Liberal Social Union) raised a question that was inspired by his personal meeting with Vladimir Meciar. He asked whether the Slovak representation has changed its positions to such an extent as to make it possible to negotiate anew on preserving the common state. Klaus replied: "The Slovak representatives have taken up their seats in governments, and are now more aware of specific problems, and are becoming more realistic. The basic points of departure remain unchanged however, and this is a fact that we have to respect." Jiri Vyvadil (Liberal Social Union) came up with another variant: "Slovakia has actually left, while we are not leaving and do not want to change anything. Czechoslovakia continues to exist." The Civic Democratic Party chairman commented on these words as follows: "Even though I realize that this view has its supporters on the Czech side, after all the talks with the HZDS it seems to me to be unsustainable and dishonest toward the Slovak side. I find it impossible to push Slovakia into the role of a one-sided liquidator [of the common state]. It would be unreasonable from the viewpoint of further coexistence and our own interests."

Vaclav Klaus used similar arguments when emphasizing the need for a generous approach toward the division of property, which should not go into details. One should opt for global principles, which should become part of the Federal Assembly law on terminating the existence of the federation. Nevertheless, he conceded that the division of property will undoubtedly bring about problems. He described as the most difficult issue the division of the property of our embassies abroad. "However, today's nondivision of property, the administration of the joint gas pipeline, oil pipeline, railroads, etc. is no less difficult," he said. [passage omitted]

Bicameral Czech Parliament Planned

AU2008130792 Prague CSTK in English 2027 GMT 18 Aug 92

[Text] Prague [dateline as received]— The Czech parliamentary commission for drafting a new Czech constitution today agreed on a bicameral Czech parliament consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate.

After today's session of the commission, Czech Deputy Anna Roeschova (ODS) told journalists that "the House would have 200 members elected for a period of four or five years, and the Senate 100 members whose term of office would run for six to eight years."

She said the Senate would have the right to initiate legislation and final decisions would be made by the House of Representatives.

The Czech Government would answer only to the House.

Weiss Cited on Cost of Independence to Slovakia

AU2008131192 Prague CSTK in English 1529 GMT 18 Aug 92

[Text] Bratislava Aug 18 (CSTK)— SDL [Party of the Democratic Left] Chairman Peter Weiss today said talks on the future of Czechoslovakia are not matter-of-fact, as people are not being informed about how the political solution produced by the talks would affect their everyday lives.

Speaking to journalists, Weiss said the first hint of a reply to this question is in a report summarizing the outcome of a studying visit by Slovak parliamentarians in the United States, July 18-26, which has not yet been published. This report includes the basic principles of economic reform as viewed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Weiss said.

From the political point of view, Weiss said the IMF's demand that Slovak citizens be informed of the economic cost of their independence should be taken seriously.

The IMF has predicted a decline in the standard of living of the Slovak population over three to five years.

Weiss went on to say that, according to the report, the cost of establishing a Slovak National Bank would be 500 million USD. One year of advising by an IMF expert would cost from one to ten million USD, which means it would cost about 100 USD per Slovak citizen to set up the bank (Slovakia has a population of 5.3 million).

Also at the press conference, Weiss said that Czech politicians have not been too quick in adopting a new Czech constitution intentionally, for political reasons.

According to him, the reason is the Czechs' hope of gaining a better position in talks on succession to the Czechoslovak state.

The SDL is the second strongest party in Slovakia, with 23 seats in the federal parliament and 29 in the Slovak parliament.

Deputies Debate Changes to Draft Constitution

AU2008191092 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Aug 92 p 2

["NO-st, TK SR"-signed report: "Consultations Among Political Parties on the Draft Constitution of the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] Bratislava—The draft of the Slovak constitution was the subject of 18 August's talks among political parties. It was also discussed by the Slovak National Council Political Board. As council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic told the board, council committees have submitted over 300 comments on the draft. It was proposed at the meeting of the board that the fourth meeting of the council [called for 25 August] be postponed while work on the draft constitution continues. The adoption of the constitution could then be put on the agenda of the fifth council meeting.

The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] clubs of deputies reached agreement on the preamble to the constitution of the Slovak Republic, which should take account of civic and national principles. Most discussion concerned the final and transitional provisions, which are not yet quite complete.

The HZDS and Slovak National Party [SNS] clubs of deputies reached wide-ranging agreement on the proposed changes to the text of the constitution. But no consensus was reached on two matters of principle, SNS Deputy Anton Hrnko said. The first is the preamble, which, in the opinion of the SNS, should open and close with the words "We, the Slovak nation." According to Hrnko, under the influence of the SDL, the HZDS has changed the closing part of the preamble to "We, citizens of the Slovak Republic." They also failed to reach agreement on the definition of the relationship between legislative and executive power. The disagreement concerned, in particular, the right of the prime minister and the government to return laws to parliament. The SNS says that this should be the exclusive right of the president of the state and also insists that the name of the supreme legislative body of the Slovak Republic be changed to either Assembly, Parliament, or National Council of the Slovak Republic.

The HZDS club of deputies submitted 92 comments on the draft. Most of them are aimed at improving the style and formal aspects of the text. The HZDS regards the wording of the preamble as a matter of principle. It will state that the Slovak nation, together with national minorities and ethnic groups living in Slovakia, adopt the constitution. Another key comment concerns streamlining the formal structure of the constitution by reducing the number of chapters from 13 to seven. Major comments also include enshrining Slovak as the state language.

Fundamental comments raised by SDL Chairman Peter Weiss concern the modalities of the adoption of the constitution, balancing out the relationship between legislative and executive power, and a decision on the final and transitional provisions. He rejected disparaging statements about the constitution and endorsed the idea of a televised debate between the authors of the constitution and its critics. According to Weiss, Czech political representatives are obviously in no hurry to pass the constitution of the Czech Republic, apparently in the hope of maneuvering themselves into a better position in the talks on the state arrangements and the right of succession [to the Czechoslovak state].

Tkac Interviewed on Objectivity of Economic Study

AU2008133592 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Aug 92 pp 1, 3

NOTICE: *The study referred to in the following item was published on page 6 of the 20 August East Europe DAILY REPORT*

[Interview with Slovak Deputy Finance Minister Marian Tkac by Ivan Podstupka; place and date not given: "Numbers Based on Wishful Thinking"]

[Text] We have yet another prediction here, a study on the impact of the partition of the state on the Czech and the Slovak economies. It was drawn up by the Federal Statistical Office in Prague. RUDE PRAVO published a short excerpt from it last Thursday [13 August]. According to the study, the partition should cost the Czech Republic 17.4 billion korunas, the Slovak Republic 20.7 billion korunas. The balance of payments would improve by 15 billion korunas in the Czech Republic, and deteriorate by 7.1 billion korunas in the Slovak Republic. The division would have no effect on the Czech budget; the Slovak budget would incur a deficit of 10.5 billion korunas. Unemployment would

rise to 6.8 percent in the Czech Republic and to 17.3 percent in the Slovak Republic. Prices would increase 13.9 percent in the Czech Republic, and 19.2 percent in the Slovak Republic.... Is it possible at all to statistically describe future phenomena in all their complexity? When predicting the development we must logically make not a quantitative, but a qualitative prediction of the processes. We are speaking about this subject with Engineer Marian Tkac, Slovak deputy finance minister.

[Podstupka] Sir, the study—or what we have learned from it—numerically depicts the consequences of the CSFR's division into individual republics. What is your opinion about this prognosis?

[Tkac] Precise numbers of this kind have appeared several times. Of course, these numbers are catastrophic for Slovakia. Some Czech reporters are reproaching me for letting myself be governed by wishful thinking rather than adopting expert and qualified stances. The contrary is true. Numbers flooding the public are based on wishful thinking—Calfa and Baksay have started it all, and this situation persists. Really, I cannot imagine an expert who would be able to predict with the precision of one-tenth of a percent the phenomena that have not taken place yet. When they do take place, they will change other suppositions. For example: It is being said that the balance of payments would deteriorate by 1.7 billion korunas in the Slovak Republic. But the Slovak balance of payments could even improve! I am not able to say how much, since no records on the relations between the republics are kept—there is no bookkeeping. There is a deficit, but it cannot be expressed numerically. It can only be estimated. Numbers given in the study are simply influenced by the authors' wishes. If we made a serious analysis it would be quite difficult to reach even approximate conclusions—that is, such precise numbers as given in the analysis are impossible. It is possible to speak about the future only when we know about at least half of the variables. At this moment, we undoubtedly do not know not even half of them.

[Podstupka] The main diverging points and future cooperation between the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement and the Civic Democratic Party have been outlined. Apparently, they will become reality....

[Tkac] If the customs and monetary union is agreed upon, relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will be different from those we would have if the union were not agreed upon. The authors of the study should be asked whether they counted on the customs and monetary union in their calculations or not. Here we question the study, and it would be best if we could ask the authors about the method and suppositions they used. Even a quick glance at some numbers raises questions. Take unemployment, for example. According to the Federal Statistical Office, unemployment will rise to 6.8 percent in the Czech Republic and to 17.3 percent in the Slovak Republic. Current unemployment in the Czech Republic is 2.7 percent and approximately 13 percent in the Slovak Republic, despite the fact that the official number is 11.8 percent. Unemployment would rise more in Bohemia than in Slovakia, then. We could ask: Is that a consequence of the abolishment of federal institutions, or is there some other reason? I can see it. It can only happen if the deliveries between the two republics are restricted. From this it ensues that the authors anticipate a catastrophic partition, that is, a division on bad terms. However, the Slovak side does everything possible to lessen the negative impact of political division on the economy.

[Podstupka] The partition cannot be avoided, it seems. What course will it take, in your opinion?

[Tkac] There are several alternatives. The optimal one would bring small consequences—not in the range of 0.1 percent, for certain—despite the fact that both economies would suffer. The political agreements must be reached in a pragmatic way, and I believe this is what is going to happen, since the Czech nation is actually a pragmatic nation. On the day "D+1" the economy and normal life will be as usual, but only if we agree on a customs and monetary union. The monetary union would mean that the banknotes that are in circulation would remain valid until the Czech and the Slovak banknotes are printed. These currencies could be exchanged in the 1:1 ratio, same as the British and the Scottish pound. We have a different situation here, however. The Czech side does not trust the Slovak side to respect the agreement in three crucial points: indirect taxes, budgetary policy, and issuing of money. Slovakia is willing to waive its sovereignty exactly in these spheres. Regarding the contemplated customs booths on the borders, they will become necessary, not because of the Czech and Slovak goods, but because of foreign goods that would seek to penetrate into one of the republics based on the fact that in one of the republics there are more advantageous conditions. This is a normal solution within customs unions; there are no problems with it.

Cernak Views Current Slovak Economic Situation

AU2008121892 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Aug 92 p 2

["(zi)"-signed report: "From Classics to Strategy"]

[Text] A bad financial situation and secondary insolvency of enterprises are characteristic of the current development in most of the sectors within the jurisdiction of the Slovak Ministry of Economy.

At a news conference on 14 August, Minister Cernak described the current situation as alarming, and he stressed that in all the sectors the utilization of production capacities is inefficient. From this, and from stagnating and declining output, ensues the existence of social overemployment. We did not succeed in reducing the factory inventories. On the contrary, in the first half year, inventories increased in relation to output some 2.8

billion korunas (from 67.3 billion korunas). Particularly the machine-tool industry saw the declining monthly output.

Slovak Republic Minister of Economy Ludovit Cernak drew attention to the seriousness of the situation, which he documented by the fact that of 210 organizations in his sector, almost 109 are suffering losses. Secondary insolvency was reduced in the first half year by 175 million korunas, while in the machine-tool industry it increased 1.6 billion korunas. Minister Cernak spoke about his talks with his partner in the Czech Government, Minister Vladimir Dlouhy. They came to a preliminary conclusion that, because of strong mutual links between the two economies, the problem should be solved simultaneously in both republics.

Sales reached 62.1 billion korunas in the first half year. Of this, 66.2 percent were reported by private firms. Regarding the dynamic development in the private sector, in the state-owned sector, a decline was recorded: Only 18 state-owned enterprises show a profit, and 44 of them are in red. At the same time, the new owners of retail outlets who acquired their business in auctions, have not paid the state sector for the stock worth 800 million korunas.

The volume of production dropped in enterprises that were within the jurisdiction of the abolished Ministry of Industry. In textile factories, for example, due to the disintegration of the market on the territory of the former Soviet Union, the volume of production dropped to 63.3 percent. In the predictions of the development, it was expected that there would be stabilization this year and that insolvency would drop. Yet, the real development is different. Generally, a drop of 25 percent is reported. One of the few positive aspects was, Minister Cernak said, the fact that new jobs were created in industry, which is the result of implementation of several modernization programs.

Minister Ludovit Cernak provided information on the fact that apart from the wood processing enterprises, the construction enterprises, too, will be transferred under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Economy. The new organizational structure at the Ministry will reflect that. Minister Cernak believes that the change in the work of the ministry is a very decisive factor. After its classical functions—that is, founding enterprises and controlling them—the ministry should be more oriented toward strategic issues.

Toth Proposes One-Year Trial Period for Currency

AU2108105592 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Aug 92 p 12

["Excerpt" from an interview with Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth by an unidentifed reporter; place and date not given: "It is Absurd To Change the Currency; Standpoint of Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth"—reprinted from Slovak economic weekly TREND No. 34]

[Text] [Toth] At the beginning of this century the Kingdom of Norway seceded from the Kingdom of Sweden. For one year they shared a common currency, and no one even noticed that anything was happening during that year. After all, there are several ways to divide a currency. It would be possible to issue Czech money and Slovak money in a certain volume. This would be monitored only by the banks of issue and a joint banking council or, optionally, by some form of a "superbank" that would coordinate the issuing of money on the basis of mutual agreements. If the U.S. dollar can be convertible the world over, why should the Czechoslovak koruna not be convertible between two republics? Mutual repercussions could be solved at the end of every year or half a year. I am speaking here about a one-to-one exchange rate. Should the Czech side really initiate a division of the currencies, unless we introduce to them inflation or state paternalism or some of the other things of which they accuse us, and should they want to trade in hard currency with us, in that case Slovakia would have to consider whether, given these conditions, it cannot purchase the same or even superior merchandise elsewhere. If we divide the currencies, the market will become very limited, which would not be good for either Slovakia or the Czech Republic. I therefore say: Let us create a common economic space and market, let us coordinate our budget, taxation, customs, but also monetary policies. We will see how this will work for one year and whether the Slovak koruna is really so bad. Should this be confirmed and the mechanisms for controlling the currency, budget, taxes, money flows, etc. will be in place, then we can decide to divide the currencies overnight. Even if the CSFR were not to be divided, the launch of the new system of taxation [planned for 1 January 1993] would be very complicated. Moreover, the preparations for the launch of the new system are far behind schedule. Tell me, what foreign investor or owner of capital will come here if he does not make at least as much as he would by keeping his money in a Swiss bank? We must create conditions for profit from investments in our country to be higher, even though this profit need not be immediate. Every state must make a calculation as to whether to earmark 20 billion [currency not specified] for unemployment benefits or to allocate, directly in the budget, five billion for support of enterprise.

Article Views Intelligence Service Split

AU2008114592 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No. 33 17-23 Aug 92 p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Spurny: "Intelligence Service Faces Disintegration"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The experts from the now-defunct State Security [StB] allegedly are the "necessary sore spot" of the Czechoslovak secret service. Many of

them have remained here: Thus, for instance, five of the six section directors of the Office for Foreign Contacts and Information [UZSI]—including the most important one (the analysis)—are former StB agents.

The intelligence service representatives justify the employment of so many former StB officers by not being able to appoint new and competent people to controlling posts. According to them, it would be a pity to blow their chances against foreign competition. The StB experts allegedly know the work and proved their competence in these posts. "Moreover, if we want our man to penetrate the KGB, it is out of the question that it would be someone whose anticommunist past is well known. The old communist spies are best suited for this purpose." [passage omitted]

The problem is that at the time an international conflict occurs and the need for information grows, the intelligence service fails. The Persian Gulf War may serve as an example. The only UZSI section that provided any information at all was the radio broadcast monitoring unit located at Pavi vrch in Prague, which simply listened to American and Western broadcasts. [passage omitted]

The dissolution of Czechoslovakia will certainly affect the intelligence service. At worst, the situation may reach the point where current colleagues would work against each other. Slovakia has a certain advantage here. While the Czechs do not operate in Slovakia, the number of Slovaks working at the UZSI directorate in Prague is relatively high. Hence, Vladimir Meciar has a chance to get his people in the Czech service. The situation is even more serious because while the UZSI structure will most likely be preserved, the Slovaks will create a new intelligence service of which the Czech side will have only meager information.

According to one of our sources, the Slovak prime minister has already been receiving reports from the intelligence service via "unofficial routes." Some of the former StB officers are "closer to Meciar than to the Czech Government." Socialism taught them to seek an enemy, and Bratislava today provides a better opportunity in this respect than Prague does.

As opposed to Slovakia, the Czech side does not have a clear idea of the intelligence priorities and orientation. One of the Federal Interior Ministry employees says that one thing is obvious—the former StB officers would like to continue working against Germany. The official UZSI course supports this inclination. According to a recent Office report, most of the so-called "risks" threatening Czechoslovakia from abroad originate in Germany. The "risks" are investigated on the basis of economic expansion, military threat, interest in patents or scientific experts, etc. Six months ago, the intelligence boss, Radovan Prochazka, even wrote a letter to the constitutional officials that all signals received by the service bear witness to "a massive economic offensive by the FRG against our state." The information on the German "offensive" has not been confirmed, nevertheless, Colonel Prochazka was promoted to the rank of general. Thus, it does not come as a surprise that he has not changed his views. The scandal caused by the letter jeopardized the Czechoslovak-German relations, but Prochazka assesses the affair in retrospect as follows: "Everybody missed the essential point—a top secret document was published. In our profession, such a thing is extremely dangerous."

World Congress of Hungarians Opens in Budapest

LD2008184292 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—Key-note speeches in the themes "Hungarians at the Turn of the Century; The Renewing Nation" were delivered in Budapest on Wednesday [19 August], following the opening speeches at the 3rd World Congress of Hungarians.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky noted that Hungary's international authority has been intensified over the past more than two years. The country's stable government, the clearly separate opposition, and the new laws enacted prove that the change in political system has been carried out in Hungary. The pessimistic predictions, whereby emotions would be set loose in the country, that anti-Semitism would be revived, and the population would have to face rampant inflation, did not prove to be true. The Hungarian foreign minister also said that only a Hungary with authority and allied to democracy can successfully support the just efforts of the Hungarian minorities living in the Carpathian Basin—to be able to remain on the land of their ancestors in the new historical age, to enjoy all the political, cultural and economic rights considered natural in the free Europe that professes identical principles—towards the foreign government and in the international forums.

Klara Jako (Cluj-Napoca) discussed the vital issues of the Hungarian minorities. Among others, she said the Transylvanian Hungarians acknowledge that they are in minority, but demand a settlement of their rights on the basis of the European standards.

Secretary of State Tamas Sepsey, president of the National Office for Compensation and Restitution, detailed the compensation law and the process of compensation. He particularly stressed that the Government does not differentiate between Hungarians living within and beyond the country's borders, and all those who suffered a disadvantage over the past 50 years would be compensated.

The delegates' assembly of the World Federation of Hungarians also opened during the day, and dealt with procedural issues. Mainly the delegates of the western region had mandate debates, said Istvan Szijjarto, member of the federation's presidium, at a press conference on Wednesday.

On Wednesday evening, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz hosted a reception in honour of participants of the 3rd World Congress of Hungarians. The president warmly welcomed participants who arrived from all parts of the world, and wished them much success in their conference.

Cooperation, Compensation Discussed

LD2108102792 Budapest MTI in English 1843 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—"We are building a new Hungary based on freedom, national sovereignty, economic independence, work and honesty. We stand a good chance of integrating in the new Europe. With a view to success, Hungarians have to join forces and put aside dissent," Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa said at a reception given for participants in the 3rd World Congress of Hungarians in Budapest on Thursday [20 August].

The congress continued on Thursday with a roundtable, entitled "Meeting With Hungarian Intellectuals" and concerned with law, compensation, economy, public health, national awareness, schooling and politics. Discussions were held on possibilities of compensating ethnic Hungarians, including Subcarpathians taken to forced labour after World War II. Gabor Vasuta, board member of the National Association of Industrialists, announced the formation of the entrepreneurs section of the World Federation of Hungarians to promote the cooperation of Hungarian businessmen on five continents.

Antall Defends Speech at Congress of Hungarians

LD2108115192 Budapest MTI in English 2121 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—Following the state reception given on St. Stephen's Day in Budapest's parliament on Thursday [20 August] evening, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall granted a brief interview to Hungarian Television.

Q: Have you expected that your yesterday's speech at the opening of the 3rd World Congress of Hungarians will stir an uproar in some circles? The Romanian reaction, at least according to today's press reports, was rather tough concerning some of your remarks...A Romanian newspaper allegedly wrote that they regard it as a "declaration of war". Certainly in a figurative sense....

A: "I think that the decision was made either with the intention of misinterpretation, or it is simply a political propaganda which has had many precedents so far. I was absolutely clear in saying that historically nobody can expect Hungary to be enthusiastic about the Trianon decision, about what happened after World War I.

"And I added that at the same time nobody has endeavoured, at least we have not, to change borders by force. But we do want to see the Hungarian national minorities, just as all minorities, live outside the borders of the Hungarian homeland enjoying their human and minority rights, including the Hungarians who live in our neighbourhood and have never left their native land, and also those who were once forced to emigrate."

Answering a question about the political changes in Hungary and the possibility of social consensus on basic problems facing the country, Antall said:

"There should be national unity on matters of fundamental importance, security policy, key foreign policy issues and the main direction in which we want to proceed.

"I feel every condition exists for a national consensus to be reached on these matters. I see no reason for such a basic consensus not to prevail here, but the Constitution and political honesty must be kept to this end.

"We have to strive to have multi-party democracy prevail, because without it parliamentary democracy cannot work either. Our aim was to create a parliamentary system, something that must not be spoilt," Antall said on Hungarian TV on Thursday evening.

In an interview to Hungarian Television after the reception, President of the Republic Arpad Goncz was also optimistic about the chances for a national consensus n accomplishing tasks faced by the country.

The August 20 celebrations in Budapest closed with the traditional fireworks on Gellert Hill on Thursday evening.

Romanian Nationalists Criticized at Congress

LD2108092292 Budapest MTI in English 1906 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—"We note with regret the intention of Romanian nationalist parties and surviving post-communist governmental forces to gain unfair electoral advantage from the 3rd World Congress of Hungarians," runs a statement sent to MTI by Transylvanian delegates and guests invited to various events of the congress.

"To this end, the Romanian newspapers in their sphere of interest have already launched a nationwide, misleading anti-Hungarian propaganda, warming up the totally unfounded accusation of Hungarian political irredentism," reads the document. "The aim is to deal a disruptive blow to the Romanian opposition with realistic political chances through manipulating electors, and to continue to keep the Hungarian minority in a state of legal deprivation under the pretext of Transylvania's endangerment."

The statement says, "the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania (HDFR) is not a member of the World Federation of Hungarians, and has not applied for admission to the World Transylvanian Federation. The HDFR has not been invited to the Transylvanian Hungarian Congress to be held on August 22 irrespective of the World Federation of Hungarians. It has been clear from the beginning that the real background to the hostilities incited apropos the 3rd World Congress of Hungarians is the question of the boundaries of democracy, rather than that of state borders."

Ministry Notes Slight Drop in Trade With CSFR

LD2008172192 Budapest MTI in English 1641 GMT 19 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI-ECONEWS)—According to figures released by the Ministry of International Economic Relations [MIER], Hungary's trade with the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in the first half of 1992 was 3 pc [percent] lower than in the same period of last year.

Total trade amounted to USD [U.S. dollars] 331 m [million], of which Hungarian exports accounted for USD 125 m, a rise of 7 pc. Imports, meanwhile, were 8 pc down on a year ago at USD 206 m. Although trade with the CSFR has not shrunk as drastically as with the other former socialist countries, the Hungarian Government is still keen on concluding the planned free-trade agreement as a means of boosting economic relations between the two countries.

The agreement, which the Hungarian Government would like to see to come into force on January 1, 1993, has particular importance in view of the imminent creation of the two independent states of Bohemia and Slovakia.

The share of machinery and transport equipment, once the main component of Hungary's deliveries both to and from Czechoslovakia, has steadily decreased over recent years and now represents just 21 pc of exports and 15 pc of imports. At the same time the share of materials has risen to 32 pc of exports and 67 pc of imports, with iron and steel making up a quarter of total imports.

About a third of all bilateral trade is carried out through trading houses in third countries, reflecting the poor state of interbank relations and high interest rates and credit risks.

Hungarian observers do not expect the division of Czechoslovakia to effect trade with the two independent countries. While Hungarian statistics do not register separate figures for trade with Bohemia and Slovakia, preliminary MIER figures put Bohemia's share at 50 per cent.

Military Cooperation Talks Held in CSFR

LD2108090692 Warsaw PAP in English 1634 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz on Thursday [20 August] went on a short working visit to Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. The invitation was extended by his Czechoslovak counterpart Imrich Andrejczak, Defence Ministry Press Officer Leszek Ziolo announced.

The two-day talks between the ministers will focus on the further military cooperation. They are also expected to touch upon future security policy of Czecho-Slovakia and the chances for cooperation within the Visegrad Triangle. Both sides are interested in expanding interministerial and launching civilian cooperation of the two ministries.

A military cooperation treaty was signed by Poland and Czechoslovakia in February, 1992. Further agreements on mutual training of Air Force officers and the Logistics Exchange have been concluded since then.

Germany Joins Fight To Combat Drug Trafficking

LD2108104492 Warsaw PAP in English 1611 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—German and Polish specialists will draw up a thoroughly timed plan on how to combat drug traffic, and the Federal Criminal Office liaison officer will come to Warsaw to join the team in November, German Federal Minister of Internal Affairs Rudolf Seiters and his Polish counterpart Andrzej Milczanowski told a press conference on Friday [as received].

German minister said that Polish drug producers play a "significant role" in making amphetamines from German-made ingredients, which later pours into Germany.

The Polish experts were invited to take part in an international conference on drug production, car theft and smuggling to be held still this year.

4 million dm [Deutsche marks] out of a 6 m [million] dm financial aid granted to Polish police will be earmarked for fighting drug manufacturing and trafficking.

The talks between the ministers focused on the means of counteracting organized international crime. "We agree, that the check on the border and elsewhere has to be tightened", Seiters said. He asked Polish authorities to consider introducing visas for Romanians wishing to visit Poland to curb their illegal migration into Germany.

Minister Milczanowski informed the journalists that during the talk with the German minister he had touched upon the issue of attacks on Polish citizens in Germany and was reassured by him that these cases would be thoroughly investigated by the respective German ministry. Minister Seiters contended however, that there is no special hostility of Germans towards Poles.

Crime Prevention Discussed

LD2108105392 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—German Federal Minister of Internal Affairs Rudolf Seiters met with President Lech Walesa on Thursday [20 August] at the Belweder Palace to discuss cooperation in crime control.

The meeting was attended by Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski and Head of the National Security Bureau attached to the Presidential Chancellery Jerzy Milewski.

"Europe is uniting but has all sorts of differences. Informal groups which are faster and better organized take advantage of them (...) the law has to dominate over lawlessness, corruption must be eliminated, and only then we might speak of achievements," said Lech Walesa when he welcomed his guests.

The president recalled that Poland was consistently stabilizing its political and economic situation and strives for the formation of an efficiently functioning state of law.

Minister Milczanowski pointed to the necessity of fighting against internationally organized crime. Minister Seiters stressed that the situation in Central and Eastern Europe and duties stemming from our neighbourhood obligate both countries to cooperation against crime.

Minister Seiters also met with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to discuss a Polish-German agreement on border crossings which would regulate the question of new crossings, their type and manner of functioning.

Rudolf Seiters met with parliamentarians representing the German minority in Poland to discuss aid to regions inhabited by this minority.

Rudolf Seiters also met with the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

EBRD Offers Financial Aid for Privatization

LD2008184992 Warsaw PAP in English 1154 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has offered financial support to Poland's mass privatisation programme. EBRD President Jacques Attali told Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in a letter that it was a great step forward for Poland. The letter was made available to journalists during a press conference Wednesday [19 August].

The EBRD is ready to express its support in two ways: Firstly, to provide working capital to national investment funds to thus cover the first two years of operations of the these funds. Secondly, to ensure funds to companies taking part in the programme if they meet the criteria.

In a related commentary the SLOWO POWSZECHNE Catholic daily wrote on Thursday that the mass privatisation programme was a sufficiently precise plan to restructure several hundred state enterprises. "In this way it will be possible to help hundreds of state firms recover more swiftly than by other methods," it said.

"The letter by the EBRD president is a clear evidence of how much the West is keen on Poland not wasting the money borrowed from it but only on making good use of this money. Otherwise the West would have to again be reconciled with the loss of another billions of dollars."

"(Under the mass privatisation programme-ed.) shareholder certificates will be distributed for 10 percent of average monthly pay. But even if only 1.2 million adult Poles buy them, the chances for accelerated restructuring will be considerable," SLOWO POWSZECHNE said.

Minister Explains Privatization Proposals

LD2008172992 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 19 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—Around 27 million Poles will be eligible to take part in the Government's mass privatisation programme when it is passed by the Polish Parliament, Privatisation Minister Janusz Lewandowski announced at a press conference on Wednesday [19 August].

Lewandowski recalled the details of the draft privatisation law, which was approved by the Cabinet on Tuesday. Shares in some 400 state-owned enterprises will be transferred into about 20 national investment funds. Every adult Pole who has paid a registration fee equal to about 10 percent of the average monthly wage will be entitled to one share in each of the funds.

He added that the funds, which will be professionally managed, will be required to help enterprises in their restructuring plans. The funds would be able to obtain assistance in this from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the World Bank.

Lewandowski said that receipts from the registration fees would be used to cover the costs arising from privatisation and reprivatisation, and also to meet the state's obligations towards state sector employees, and recipients of retirement and invalidity pensions.

Also on Wednesday, the Privatisation Ministry announced the sale to private investors of 70 percent of "Porcelana Walbrzych," based in Walbrzych (south-west Poland), for over 8 billion zlotys (616,000 dollars). Of the remaining shares, 20 percent will be allocated to the workforce, while the remaining 10 percent will be held by the State Treasury.

The new owners, "S and K Holdings," will also guarantee the company's existing 18 billion zloty debt, and to invest a further 12 billion zlotys in the plant over the next 2 years. They have also undertaken to maintain the workforce at its present level of 850 for the same period.

Katowice-Based Trade Union 'Kontra' Registered

LD2108090992 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—A new trade union "Kontra" has been registered as an all-Poland union, according to a source at the Provincial Court in Warsaw Thursday [20 August]. The new union affiliates workers of all professions, including members of other trade unions and jobless. The union is based in Katowice, southern Poland.

Religious Instruction Deemed Unconstitutional

LD2108112792 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—Ombudsman Tadeusz Zielinski has submitted a motion to the Constitutional Tribunal to deem the religious instruction of the Education Ministry unconstitutional, the ombudsman's press spokesman Stanislaw Wilenski reported on Thursday [20 August].

The minister of national education introduced religion teaching in state schools last April.

UDMR Views World Congress of Hungarians

AU2108084592 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Aug 92 p 3

[Article by Olga Micu: "Mr. Geza Domokos Calls for Moderation and Wisdom"]

[Text] Three major subjects were discussed during the recent news conference of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], and I am going to list them accordingly; as a matter of fact, the last subject aroused the greatest interest, the upcoming congress of the World Union of Hungarians, to be held in Budapest, which, even before it started, raised difficult, delicate, and apprehensive questions, through the announced topics that it will discuss.

1. To believe that a Hungarian prefect could not solve just as well the problems of Romanians in Covasna and Harghita or the other way around, is a primitive way of thinking. Now, in these two counties we have a "duet," and we all have accepted this realistic and reasonable solution, although it might seem strange to some people. An exceptional solution was found for an exceptional situation. That is the law of compromise, which usually leaves a bitter taste behind. Everybody should be pleased, but there are some displeased, too. Mr. Domokos said: I am convinced that the collusion that triggered the crisis will emerge in a few months, after this fall's elections, because it is directly linked to the election issue. The "inspection" in the field, carried out by Messrs. Ursu and Vaida played a decisive role in triggering the crisis, and it is to Mr. Stolojan's great merit that he solved it, by showing much objectiveness and courage.

2. The upcoming elections will decisively mark Romania. Therefore, it is a positive fact that this hotbed of the Hungarian minorities' problems, which, if allowed to get out of hand, could have taken a dramatic turn, was put out. During the presidential elections, the UDMR, which is a member of the Romanian Democratic Convention [CDR], will support Mr. Emil Constantinescu, who, as a matter of fact, is expected to meet with voters on 25 August in Miercurea Ciuc and on 26 August in Sf. Gheorghe. As far as the parliamentary elections are concerned, the UDMR will run on a separate ticket with its own emblem, and it has advanced lists of candidates in all counties of the country, and using the current "basket" system, it does not want to lose any possible votes.

3. But here we are, witnessing the electoral equation that is getting increasingly complicated now, as if all the difficulties of the country were not enough for us, I mean the fear caused by the civil war in the former Yugoslavia or the Czech and Slovak separation. After about 50 years, the World Congress of Hungarians will be held in Budapest on 19-21 August, which will continue on 22 August with the World Congress of Hungarians of Transylvania. It seems that its only topic for discussions will be "The Self-Determination of Hungarians in Transylvania." About 300-500 Hungarians are expected to attend the congress, of whom 180 are nominally invited guests: 60 from Hungary, 60 from the diaspora, and 60 from other countries neighboring Hungary, thus from Romania, too. Among the guests will be Bishop Laszlo Tokes—who will make a speech in his capacity as honorary guest—and Senator Geza Szocs, who will hold a lecture, in his own name. Mr. Geza Domokos was certainly also invited, however, for various reasons he will not be able to honor the invitation. However, he is drawing our attention to the fact that the term self-determination in the Hungarian language (onrendelkezes) has a different, softer meaning than its Romanian translation, thus it would be more appropriate to translate it as local self-administration. He also informs us that the UDMR is not a member of the World Union of Hungarians, which was restructured after 1990, when a greater emphasis was placed on cultural, educational, and professional goals, and less on political ones, that were predominant during the Cold War. However, Mr. Domokos feels a certain apprehension, not so much about what the Romanian guests are going to discuss at that congress but about the way in which their addresses to the congress will be received in Romania. For example, it would have been more normal to publish Mr. Szocs's paper initially in Romania. But how many abnormal things happen in Romania? Nevertheless, he is most concerned about what might happen within the Democratic Convention in Romania, and we believe that his arguments make up a sincere appeal to all the parties that are members of the CDR and the other parties, too, to show wisdom and moderation, so as not to exaggerate the real proportion of the issue, not to add new factors of tension and venom to our life, which is strenuous enough as it is, and not to turn the issue into a pretext for heated discussions, that might have the effect of a billiard move, namely, when you hit a ball it ricochets where you do not expect it. In conclusion, Mr. Domokos is mostly concerned about the atmosphere of prejudices and passions under which our entire political life is unfolding and which distorts and fills with assumption of guilt the banal right of each citizen to participate in an international meeting, even if it is called the World Congress of Hungarians.

PSDR Issues Communique on Hungarian Congress

AU2008201792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1227 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/8/1992—The Romanian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDR) expresses its belief that the World Union of Hungarians, through the positions it adopts, will not create instability in Europe, shows a communique released by that party.

As for the problems in Transylvania, provided they existed, they should be judged and solved inside the country alone. The rest are only personal opinions,

including the opinions of the members of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], which are not worthy of consideration, the communique shows reminding that living in Romania are Romanian citizens and not ethnic minorities.

FDSN Member Discusses Issue of Ethnic Minorities

AU2108104192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0918 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/8/1992—An essential component of the Romanian political life is the ties between we Romanians as majority people and ethnic minorities—Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Serbians, Tartars, Turks, Ukrainians, and others, Marin Badea, vice president of the Democratic National Salvation Front's Council of Bucharest Municipality, specified at "Electoral Rostrum" broadcast of the Romanian radio station. The Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] could not and cannot overlook such a component of our reality, much more so as in the revolutionary process after December 1989 a tough moment aroused—the confrontations in Tirgu Mures in March 1990. Moreover, a very tough inter ethnic war is taking place in the vicinity of Romania's borders, namely the one in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the East, heavy battles were fought in Transdniestria, in the North-West Czechoslovakia is on the verge of dividing itself and we are witnessing again the proliferation of revisionist claims in the press in Hungary.

In this context, Marin Badea specified some of the principles concerning the national minorities' role and place in the Democratic National Salvation front's view:

1. The Democratic National Salvation Front firmly declares—in keeping with the stipulations in the constitution—for the observance and guaranteeing of equality of rights of all the citizens of the motherland, without any national discrimination;

2. In accordance with international principles and standards on national minorities' rights, the Democratic National Salvation Front backs all the actions aimed at favoring conservation and assertion of the minorities' cultural identity. It has militated and will militate for the observance of the right to use the mother tongue in education, culture, civil and religious life, but it opposes the idea of instituting such rights for the minorities which the Romanian people itself do not enjoy;

3. The Democratic National Salvation Front has the unflinching belief that the continuous harmonization of inter ethnic ties through the expansion of the elements that have in time defined the coexistence between minorities and Romanians as a far majority ethnic population can really contribute to the consolidation of democracy and the state of law, to the very stability of the political-institutional structures and the country's general development;

4. The Democratic National Salvation Front, starting from the multiple valences of the concept of coexistence, firmly rejects the extremist attitudes in inter ethnic relations. It will take firm action in keeping with the constitution to suppress any manifestation of irredentism, chauvinism, exaggerated nationalism.

Romania is a national unitary state and any deeds that might aim at setting up enclaves and cantons and, thus, at a territorial fragmentation under the slogan of human rights, of forged democracy or decentralization and local autonomy, beyond any precise limits stipulated in the constitution and in other laws in force will be vehemently condemned.

Marin Badea made reference to the bitter experience of the tensions in the Romanian-Hungarian relations as they were during the 1848-1849 revolution. It is the letter sent by Romanian national hero Avram Iancu to a Hungarian military leader: "Why don't you want to understand that weapons can never decide between you and us? The fate put us in a homeland so that we together sweat for its development, taste its results. Believe us, the Hungarian of today and of always cannot speak without the Romanian nor can the Romanian without the Hungarian."

Karadzic Comments on Outlook for London Conference

LD2008135492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Chances for the success of the London Conference on Yugoslavia are not slight, provided that the European Community and other participants in the conference opt for a new approach that implies the understanding of the problem and an unbiased attitude toward the warring sides, TANJUG was told today in a phone conversation with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic Presidency, who is to head a delegation of the Bosnian Serbs at the international Conference on Yugoslavia to be held in London on 26 August.

Karadzic warned, however, that the London conference could fail, which would be a catastrophe both for European diplomacy and for the Yugoslav countries.

The conference may fail and will do so if basic principles contained in the Brioni declaration are departed from, primarily the principle of recognition of a nation's right to self-determination and the principle of offering good services; the imposition of solutions on the part of the European Community should be ruled out, Dr. Radovan Karadzic said.

Presidency Discusses Preparations for Conference

AU2008120792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] At yesterday's session, the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina discussed preparations for the forthcoming Conference on Yugoslavia, which is to begin on 26 August in London.

The delegation from Bosnia-Hercegovina will be led by Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Discussing the situation in the country, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency reiterated its demand to all state bodies that they should continue to be law-abiding in their work, taking into account the seriousness of the war situation.

President Izetbegovic informed the members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency about his meeting yesterday with General Satish Nambiar.

Muslim Leader Against Cantonization of Republic

LD2008171592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem Leader Ejup Ganic has described the forthcoming London Conference on Yugoslavia as a step forward, but has said that the Moslem delegation will strongly oppose any cantonization of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ganic told the daily NOVI VJESNIK of Zagreb, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, that "if a cantonization is aimed at, the Yugoslav crisis would return to the beginning."

"Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina are inhabited by Moslems whose tradition is Islam, and this must be discussed quite openly at the negotiating table," Ganic said.

Moslems, as a majority people who account for 44 per cent of the republic's total population, want a unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina where they would predominate. In contrast, Serbs (32.5 per cent) and Croats (17 per cent) insist on the republic's cantonization on the ethnic principles.

Bosnian Serbs created the Serb republic on April 7 and the Bosnian Croats proclaimed their own state in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Herceg-Bosnia, on July 3.

UNHCR Approves Humanitarian Flights to Sarajevo

LD2008135992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1257 GMT 20 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva on Thursday [20 August] humanitarian flights for Sarajevo, the capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, a senior officer in charge of civilian affairs of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) told TANJUG.

UNPROFOR still cannot confirm whether any of the announced flights have landed at Sarajevo Airport, which was closed on Tuesday over the alleged attack on a British Air Force transporter, said Jennie Piterson.

Piterson confirmed that UNPROFOR Commander Gen. Satish Nambiar on Wednesday went to Sarajevo for talks with the warring sides on guarantees for safe landing at the airport.

The outcome of the talks is not known, but it can be concluded that agreement has been reached because the UNHCR gave the green light to humanitarian flights.

The Thursday morning in Sarajevo started with sporadic shooting. On Wednesday night, artillery exchanges were reported in several Sarajevo sections, Serb sources say.

On Thursday morning, six shells hit the Serb-populated section of Lukavicam during the night, Moslem forces shelled Serb-populated Sarajevo suburbs.

On Wednesday afternoon and during the night, the situation in the region of Hercegovina was especially difficult around Trebinje, the political centre of eastern Hercegovina where Serbs have lived for centuries.

The Army of the neighbouring Republic of Croatia shelled several Serb-populated villages in the Trebinje area.

In a continued offensive launched almost three months ago, the Croatian Army has seized almost one-quarter of the Trebinje municipality.

In the areas of Kalinovik and Foca in southeastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, Moslem forces have been concentrating troops in what the Bosnian Serb Army Command sees as preparations for a large-scale offensive.

Paper Discusses Incident With British Plane

LD2008164892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 20 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—A statement by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) that the weapon from which the British transporter was fired at on Tuesday [17 August] over the Sarajevo airport was a 20 mm radar-guided anti-aircraft gun, has eliminated doubts that Bosnian Serbs did it because they do not have such guns, writes the Belgrade daily POLITIKA on Thursday.

The Army of former Yugoslavia has not left in the ex-Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina any radar-guided guns, especially not a 20 mm gun, because its weaponry did not include it, the daily writes, adding that the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also does not possess such guns.

Military experts of UNPROFOR must have been aware of this fact, because they include many intelligence officers, says POLITIKA's military political analyst Miroslav Lazanski.

UNPROFOR commander in Yugoslavia General Satish Nambiar said on Wednesday that it was not established who fired at the British air force transporter. Leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs Radovan Karadzic refused the possibility that it was the Serb Army, because only the Muslim and Croat Army formations have their positions on the west side of the airport, from where the plane was fired at.

Some Arab countries, namely Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iran, are in possession of 20 mm radar-guided guns, the daily writes, adding that former Warsaw Pact countries, especially Hungary, also have similar weapons.

Hungary has already proved its ability to conquer new armament markets and it is not hard to imagine who the potential buyer of such guns could be, the daily writes.

Even before its violent secession from former Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia started buying Hungarian weapons, especially Kalashnikovs, for its Army,

Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina also do not hide their wish to provide weapons for the war against Serbs primarily from Muslim countries. They have been using 155 mm heavy howitzers of Turkish origin in the area of Gmazde, in Eastern Bosnia, over the past ten days, Serb sources say.

If the British Hercules, included in the humanitarian aid flights, could register the radar rays allegedly used for guiding fire, then it is certainly not an ordinary transporter. Only combat aircraft possess such equipment, said Lazanski.

"The British evidently fear the Bosnian hell, since they send transporters 'rich' in electronics," the daily points out, [word indistinct] "someone seems very eager to provoke an all-out international war in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Mortar Fire Hits Ukrainian UNPROFOR Barracks

AU2008205292 Paris AFP in English 1952 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 20 (AFP)—A barracks housing 400 Ukrainians from the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the former Bosnian parliament building here caught fire late Thursday [20 August] after taking mortar hits, UNPROFOR sources said.

The roof of the Marshall Tito barracks caught fire and eight vehicles belonging to the Ukrainians were destroyed in the bombing, a spokesman said.

More than an hour after the attack, there were no reported casualties.

Earlier Thursday, a Ukrainian peacekeeper was killed by snipers outside the same barracks.

The former building of the Bosnian parliament also caught fire during a mortar attack Thursday.

The 20-floor building, used by snipers in the capital, has been a regular target for mortar attacks since the war started.

The fire from the old parliament buildings sent clouds of black smoke into the sky above the Bosnian capital.

The UNPROFOR has asked Serbian and Bosnian liaison officers to intervene in efforts to curb the shelling.

Croatian-Serbian Cooperation Discussed

AU1808202792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 92

[Text] There is a lot of disagreement over almost everything connected with Herceg-Bosnia, an otherwise unusual political phenomenon. Interpretations of its existence vary according to circumstances. Nevertheless, as time goes by, more and more seemingly temporary but typically separatist decisions are being made, not only

regarding military activity but also administration. Thus, Mostar was yesterday proclaimed the capital city of Herceg-Bosnia, although only unofficially, and Mate Boban has been behaving like the leader of all Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats. Zvonimir Vidovic comments on some of the many questions that have arisen in this regard.

[Vidovic] The renewed independent state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was once a kingdom and is now a republic, has both friends and the worst possible enemies among its neighbors. The former are the most numerous, while there are two of the latter. The ruling regimes of Serbia and Montenegro want to be jointly called Yugoslavia. Power is held by Milosevic and Cosic, who are common Nazis and, God willing, Hitler's last pupils.

The benevolent part of the world sees Bosnia-Hercegovina as the possible source of national tolerance. People here do not get their chances in life because of an accident of birth but through their own personal qualities. Let us be a country where each person freely uses his own name with pride, if he wishes, but without this being a privilege bestowed in advance or a reason for injustice.

Will the possibility of our country being such a country create yet another enemy? Is the regime of Dr. Franjo Tudjman appearing to be such in order to win western Hercegovina in exchange for the unclear fate of the majority of Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats? Bare rocks under the Croatian flag without lilies [the symbol of Bosnia-Hercegovina] are sweeter than friendly Bosnia. In this case, we would not even be neighbors because the remnants of our republic would be separated by the Serbs of the Serbian Democratic Party.

So, instead of getting a good-natured neighbor, Croatia would have an insatiable enemy. They would exchange [name indistinct] for Baranja; Croatia lost Vukovar and now wants Mostar. Are the Mostar people going to leave the Banja Luka Muslims and Croats to be expelled? Is Siroki Brijeg worrying about the fate of Kresevo and [word indistinct] Sutjeska? Is Ljubuski worrying about Zavidovici? It seems that if you are not a Croat here you are not a Hercegovinian.

All this talk about recognizing the authorities in Sarajevo—why does this not come from the desks of Boras and Brkic?—and this talk about putting the Croatian Defense Council under the command of the Armed Forces of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina has remained just stories. Have we heard it correctly that Boban has proclaimed the new Bosnia-Hercegovina currency invalid on his territory? Boban has moved from Grude to Mostar with Tudjman's dinar in his wake. Have so many young men, Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats, been killed or disabled so that their blood would only be a contribution to political trade? Were this [words indistinct] of self-proclaimed owners of our lives, graves would be only small change?

What do the Croats in exile or concentration camps think? Is all the fighting that is happening in the aftermath of the collapse of Yugoslavia only a battle between Serbs and Croats for fixing the dividing line between the two states, and is it now spreading to the Bosnian and Hercegovinian territory? What kind of calculations are these when the most numerous people here, the Muslims, have been left out of the equation? Milosevic has clearly shown his intentions: He would force the Muslims underground on their own territory. Are the Croats going to support this [word indistinct]? Only a sinister imagination could conceive the consequences.

Was the demonstrative explosion over the grave of (?Osman Zigic) in celebration of the resettlement of the capital of Herceg-Bosnia from Grude, [words indistinct], to Mostar or was this only harmful foolishness? History is, after all, full to overflowing with fools and the consequences of their decisions.

Is it easier for a Croat here to risk his head or to use it to think? Would they subject themselves to the command of Milosevic's sinister dreams? The harsh reactions from Muslims—and there are some—can only bring Karadzic to the recognized international stage. If wisdom were not concealed in Bosnia just as extensively as blood flows, imagine how beautiful this country could be. While there is war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, everyone will have only one task: to go to the borders of one's own country with one's own army.

Political life is organized with peace, civility, and democracy and with the voice of every person. With the fall of the Bosnian state, half of present-day Croatia also falls. Whoever cooperates with Milosevic does not deserve anything better.

Deadline for FRY Army Withdrawal Sought

LD2008082392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Vladimir Seks, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Commission for UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali expressing dissatisfaction over the procrastination of the Yugoslav Army in withdrawing from the municipality of Dubrovnik.

Your Excellency, nearly three weeks have passed since an agreement was reached aboard the British frigate Avenger on 30 July providing for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Dubrovnik. I see no reason for the three-week procrastination of the Yugoslav Army's withdrawal from the Dubrovnik area, nor do I understand why the UNPROFOR has been tolerating the delay. Therefore, I am proposing that General Nambiar set a particular date for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army units from the Dubrovnik municipality without fail, following possible consultations with the so-called Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the letter says in conclusion.

CSCE Delegation Arrives; Agenda Outlined

LD2108085192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] A CSCE delegation headed by the Czech and Slovak foreign minister [Jozef Moravcik] have arrived in Zagreb. They met a Croatian delegation and a delegation from the Bosnian and Hercegovinian Presidency. After that they will fly for Sarajevo. On their return to Zagreb they will meet with Mate Granic, vice president of the Croatian Government and also go to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] headquarters to see General Nambiar and to the European mission headquarters.

HDZ Leader on Election Results, Party Goals

92BA1323B Zagreb NOVI DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 92 pp 13-15

[Article including interview with Dr. Dalibor Brozovic, vice president of the Croatian Democratic Community, by Dalibor Poretic; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want a Border on the Drina"]

[Text] We were certain of victory, and the results of the election are within the limits of the normal deviation inherent in any forecast, that is, within the limits of what the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] Presidium predicted, we were told by Dr. Dalibor Brozovic, vice president of the victorious party in the 1992 elections in Croatia, at the beginning of an interview in which we asked him to comment on the results of the election and to offer some views on his party's political philosophy. He can do this with authority, because he enjoys the reputation of party ideologue, although he does not like to be called that. He says that this word would be normal in France or England, but in our country it has been used too long in a sense that today is not favorable at all, so that it is worn-out from excessive use over a certain period of time. Nevertheless, he does not deny that that is the function in the party he feels closest to on the basis of his intellectual format in his actual political involvement.

[Poretic] How much influence will these elections have on the HDZ itself? That is, it is a deep-seated opinion that the HDZ is not a party in the true sense of the word, but a heterogeneous movement that sprang up on the ruins of the former regime. Is the HDZ now becoming a "true" party? And which current within it will prevail, the harder one or the softer one?

[Brozovic] There are various areas of hardness and softness, it depends on the area one is discussing. On the question of the war and the new international relations that have arisen on the disintegration of the late Yugoslavia, which is not resting in peace, there are people who are more radical in this area in view of the evil that has come from Milosevic and the policy of Garasanin, the Nacertanije, and the memorandum, but who in certain questions of the national economy are very restrained and moderate, while others are precisely in those areas inclined toward extreme solutions that are hasty and completely unprepared. It would, of course, be stupid to deny that the HDZ arose as a movement and has still retained quite a few features of a movement. It is just that there are several things that have to be borne in mind. First of all, the very program contains a higher degree of synthesis and broader range than is usually the case in political parties. At the very outset, the HDZ presented a three-party synthesis which tried to identify the tried and true constructive legacy of Croatian political traditions, which nevertheless are rather different from one another: that of Starcevic, that of Radic, and the Croatian national left. The good side of that synthesis is the possibility of rallying and mobilizing very broadly. The bad side is that those three differing traditions from three differing eras nevertheless remain. A certain degree of incongruity here is greater than in shaping the programs of other political parties. There is no filter here that in a mobilization would guarantee that that broad gathering will be joined by only those people who adopt those three traditions in the selection which the HDZ has made, and not certain other undesirable tails which they might have. Third, it is natural on the basis of common sense and the law of probability that the larger a political organization is, the more it will display the elements and nature of a movement. But there is also another side to this. Logically, one would anticipate that there would then be in the HDZ many more factional fights, splits, and dissidents than in other Croatian parties. The fact that this simply is not the case is worth thinking about.

[Poretic] To what extent is that homogeneity influenced by the political authority of President Tudjman, and in what way is he being shaped as a political figure, more as a military leader or more as a political leader?

[Brozovic] Given the overall features of the movement, one might rather expect in its leader the elements of a military leader than in some other party. How he will actually be depends on the objective circumstances and his subjective characteristics. I have known President Tudjman for a very long time. There is something in him which is very little noted, but it is very important in politics. I have always wondered what his motivation is in politics and how dependent on it he is personally, or is he something outside politics and devoid of them? I am not certain that in some large, normal, and well-ordered country our president would choose the fate of a politician, and even in the military sense he would not be any more involved than some average citizen. It is more likely that he would seek his affirmation in affairs that take place in offices. Nevertheless, I recognized in him a man who would be the right choice in what Croatia faced, in a matter of to be or not to be, a matter of what had to be done. I knew it precisely: Those were the shoulders that could take that burden. Leaders can exist by certain general laws of the human individual, they can also exist because elements of the movement, and they exist in the HDZ, drive them to it, but those elements are diminishing, and it is certain that they will diminish still more after this election. But I think that this is not Tudjman's choice. I think he does not even want to be a political leader. But he is aware that so long as he is guiding the Croatian state and the party which is responsible with a mandate from the electorate for guiding that state he should accentuate elements of the conventional political leader of a party. In his personal nature, it is a priori that neither the elements of a party leader nor of a messianic leader exists in and of themselves, but are rather the result of Croatian conditions and of the very character of the HDZ, with a certain percentage of tolerance as to those character traits which make a man like this or like that. Croatian conditions guided him toward being a soldier and a politician. He would be someone and something even without politics and without a government position.

[Poretic] There is the assessment that the new Croatian Assembly will be on a higher level than up to now. The HDZ behaved in rather one-party fashion in the previous Assembly, where it had an absolute majority. What will its attitude be toward the opposition in this new body?

[Brozovic] The numerical relationship cannot be excluded, but relations in the Assembly will not depend on anything so much as the behavior of the opposition itself, on whether it has enough inner moral force to draw certain conclusions from these elections and to say to itself: Fine, we tried, our conscience is clear, we did everything, at some points we were not altogether fair, but that is the past, now we have to turn the record over and behave differently. Arguments along the line of everything is good that is against the incumbent party are not the basis for a constructive political life. The people have felt that in this total, unselective, and uncritical approach to the incumbent party a portion of the opposition went over the line of civil loyalty to the state and made its international position more difficult.

[Poretic] But there were also such elements of behavior in the Assembly on the part of certain members of the incumbent party who did not hesitate to display certain typical negative figures of parliamentary folklore.

[Brozovic] It is quite certain that there were certain tasteless political shows [preceding word in English] on the periphery of the HDZ, but in that we were not alone. As a matter of fact, given the size of the Assembly, we might have expected even more. The new Assembly will have a third as many deputies. Common sense tells us at least two things in this connection. First, that on the average it is possible to choose people of higher quality when you are electing only one-third as many. Second, so long as there was no normal civil parliamentary political life, it was not possible to see what kind of politician certain people were. Now, after two solid years, it has been possible to see how much each party, including the incumbent party, really weighs and the extent to which everyone is as he represented himself in the '90 elections. And that facilitates a better selection and a certain pruning of those peripheral and polar forces and groupings which depart to a greater extent from what would be normal tolerance within the range of a party's physiognomy. The assessment of the first Assembly was disastrous to one segment of the public, the opposition, and the citizenry. They predicted disaster for that program. There was so much in that Assembly that is foreign to our habits, our style, our tradition, and our taste. But it is with that first Assembly that we won this election, because our public still has not learned to see not only the froth, but also to see some of the waves which are making that froth.

[Poretic] Is the new government already working out certain combinations of personnel?

[Brozovic] It is, but nothing is altogether definite yet. The people on whom one is counting must also agree. But usually the people who are of the greatest interest and most desirable for certain positions have ambitions which are less important to the state, but of greater interest to themselves.

[Poretic] Your most serious political slogan would be "After the victory, prosperity." It implies just as great an obligation as the one that first you will create the Croatian state.

[Brozovic] Croatia has many comparative advantages. In contacts with foreigners, I see that they have some sense of a bad conscience toward us. They would be happiest if all of this were ended as soon as possible and they could make good loans and provide certain aid to Croatia in order to get us off their conscience as soon as possible. And Croatia is a piker compared to the problems of other much larger countries that have emerged from Real Socialism. We are a small country, but our overall makeup makes us interesting as a market. In addition,

the quality of our emigres is very high. I often tell our emigres: "We do not need your money. With our administration, it is a bottomless sack. We need you and your money. For half a century, people have lived here in the philosophy that no one could pay them so little that they could not work less. So we do not need you in Croatia as philanthropists, but to come here to be richer than you are. We can be disciplined only by someone who has disciplined himself in the harsh capitalist competition." We are so poor in our economic education that we do not know how to boast about what is really worth something in our country. Foreign monetary and financial experts are amazed they cannot get over how Croatia has not had a slump of production, nor still higher unemployment, astronomical inflation, and a shortage of goods on the market. Whatever they have said, our monetary policy has been incredibly good. And just as doctoral dissertations will be written about the birth of the Croatian Army, so people will also study this Croatian financial and monetary miracle. But we know so little about this that we did not even brag about it in the election campaign.

[Poretic] According to certain predictions, Croatia is threatened with hunger in the fall with all these refugees. What is more, given its geopolitical situation, because it has almost the same length of borders as the old Yugoslavia, it will have to maintain a considerably larger army than it can permit itself, and so it is threatened with the danger of turning into a Croaten-lager.

[Brozovic] In theory, outside time and space, that might be so, but when there is a definitive solution of relations with Bosnia, the cooperation will be such that none of those countries will need to maintain an army on the border. I do not see that we would have to have much more military involvement on the borders with Slovenia, Hungary, and Italy than is the average in Europe. We have a survey of the calculations of every Balkan and Mediterranean country, every great power, and every international organization. This is a card game in which there are a great many possible plays, but I think that Croatia has ready responses to any combination. As for economic collapse, there are no major dangers even there. And the refugees will be dealt with not because of us, but because of the excessive risk to the world. The world will attempt in every possible way to get an omelet without breaking the eggs. But when their conscience is clear that they have tried to do everything they could, they will make the move that suits us, not because of us, but because of themselves. After all, if the task of the United Nations under international treaty experiences a real fiasco, then the functioning of the international order as a whole breaks down. And if a schizophrenic criminal like Milosevic succeeds with an imbecilically aggressive imperialism, then nothing is left of the international order. Truly, there is a greater risk in irritating the Serbs than in irritating the Croats. So, not because they want it, which is what our people think, but simply to save a bit of face, they have been a bit more arrogant in their practical moves toward us than toward the Serbs. But things are moving nevertheless, step by step. If we look at the historical maps of Europe in this century alone, we will be amazed when we see how many zones of occupation there have been everywhere and how long they lasted. And the people in them asked, just as we are asking here and now: So, how long is this going to last? But when it straightened out, that was forgotten as though it had never occurred. It is much more difficult for us now, but things are nevertheless developing slowly. The Serbs gave up their artillery with a heavy heart, but they nevertheless did it. The UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] Command is now moving from Belgrade to Zagreb. Now it will be much easier to talk to them. Events are taking place on the principle of three steps forward and one back, and those steps are very slow. But we are living in horizontal time, and an intelligent politician must know how to predict what will happen in vertical time.

[Poretic] Many reputable commentators in the world are warning that Croatia's international prestige has been dropping recently. How will the results of the election be reflected in that area?

[Brozovic] It is already evident from the reaction of the world media that the results of the election have been well-received. The total of pluses and minuses will be greatly on the side of the pluses.

[Poretic] You are a Bosnian. Do you think that the cantonization of Bosnia is a realistic solution for that land?

[Brozovic] I would first have to know what cantonization is and what various people mean by it. There are neither documents nor papers from which one might conclude that a Croatian state has been proclaimed in Bosnia. Only the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has its real or pretended attributes, has been proclaimed in it. On the Croatian side, only a temporary civil government has been established that will function only until final establishment of normal government authority. Cantonization can be viewed in various ways. It is best conceived in the true sense of cantons, so let there be some 15 of them, not three that have been unnaturally scattered. The experience of this war has shown that the Croatian people in Herceg-Bosnia must, just like the other constituent nationalities in it, have a certain degree of institutionalization, enough so that as a small constituent nationality it would be protected on its own terrain.

The annexation of the Croatian parts to Croatia is neither a desirable nor good solution to any serious Croatian policy, nor is the creation of an apparent state in the form of confederation, which the Serbs have as a backup solution if annexation of certain Bosnian regions to Serbia does not succeed. Nor are we interested in Croatia swallowing up Bosnia, so that we would have a border on the Drina. That is a frivolous and romantic goal of conquest. It is important to Croatia that the western border of Serbia be on the Drina, but not that

our eastern border be on the Drina. Cantonization must serve the practical development of internal life, but by no means manipulation at the government level.

[Poretic] What is the overall makeup of relations with the Serbs at present? On the basis of the present balance of power in Bosnia, the Serbs have every opportunity to strike blows against Croatia's soft belly. How do you look upon that string, from the Serbs in the krajinas, the Bosnian Serbs, to Serbia?

[Brozovic] What they would like is one thing, but we today already have every right to tell them: You can just go on wishing, but you will see how far you will get. I have been saying for half a year now that the war will continue to travel from west to east and that it will end up with suicide in some bunker within Serbia itself. The war began on the Slovenian-Austrian border, but it will end on the Serbian-Bulgarian border. We are not very aware how likely that scenario is. Milosevic's greatest crime against his own people is that he cast the Serbs in Croatia and those in Bosnia-Hercegovina into something from which they cannot emerge unharmed. Croatia has no problems with any of its minorities, it is mobilizing them along with all other citizens of Croatia, among them even many Serbs, but Milosevic has problems with all his minorities, and even the Serbs are reluctant to become his soldiers.

There are no Croats on Milosevic's side, but there are many Serbs in Croatia, and still more in Bosnia, who are fighting against him. And they are well aware that if Milosevic wins that he will kill them first, and only afterward the Croats and Muslims. There are many conclusions that can be drawn from that.

Outcome of Croatian Elections Analyzed

92BA1317B Zagreb NOVI DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 92 pp 7-10

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "A Croatia Made to Tudjman's Measure"—first paragraph is NOVI DANAS introduction]

[Text] Did the Croats vote for continuity in policy, or did the fear of things getting worse decide the choice in favor of the status quo?

"The electoral spectacle is over, and life begins. Now it is time to untie the package that the Croats themselves wrapped. These elections in the homeland confirmed who the dilettantes are, and they showed the world who has the right to speak on behalf of Croatia." Such were the comments by Franjo Tudjman, the old and new president of Croatia, concerning the first results of the elections. And after lowering his arm raised in triumph, he set out to celebrate his electoral victory at Republic Square with his people, as he had recently said he would. Does this mean that nothing changes, neither the government nor its labeling? Or did Tudjman calmly and self-confidently stroll to the celebrations because the head of his campaign staff is the policeman to top all policemen? There is a certain political bizarreness present here, possible only in this Balkan region, where gendarmes have always played an important role in politics and have never gone out of their way to hide this fact.

Leaving aside the many questions that will be answered only with time, at this particular moment, while all the votes have yet to be counted, the outcome of the elections can be described with three assertions. First, the outcome of the elections comes as no surprise, although the results of the elections presented a few surprises. Second, the outcome of the elections is less a victory for the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] than a defeat for the opposition. And third, Croatia did not vote for change, but the outcome of the elections will nevertheless result in change. We will explain these seemingly contradictory theories one by one.

The Outcome of the Elections Comes as No Surprise, Although It Contains a Few Surprises

It could be expected that the ostensible candidate for president, and the favorite at that, Franjo Tudjman, would win, and that his party would win. Although his charisma has vacillated dangerously in recent times and although his party has incurred public animosity, it still did not expend the capital that it had. The surprise, however, is that the expectations that the Assembly would become more plural than it is today did not come true. Without relevant research and without solid indicators by political analysts, one is left to interpret the extent to which satisfaction with what has been achieved tipped the scales in this fostering of continuity, and the extent to which this maintenance of the status quo is a reflection of the desire that things not get worse. This is because it is hard to believe that this was a mandate for maintaining the present situation; it would be monstrous to believe that Croatia could be satisfied with what it has.

Although Tudjman's victory actually comes as no surprise, it is still surprising that he got so many votes in the first round, more than had been indicated by public opinion polls, as well as the mood out in the field. At campaign gatherings, the pretender to the title of president of all Croats was even subjected to whistling and heckling on an open stage. How are we to explain the fact that suddenly he nevertheless got enough votes in the first round to become president, even though it was less than he was counting on—Mesic, prompting him, predicted a grandiose victory—and certainly not enough for him to continue to be proclaimed the supreme chief (at a Zagreb campaign rally)?

The relatively small number of votes received by Paraga's angry HSP [Croatian Rights Party] supporters is also surprising. The Croatian political elite could be satisfied to see that Croatia has indeed shown that it is not ultrarightist and Ustashi, but it appears that the number of votes captured is not in a happy correlation with the attitudes that boiled over during the preelection

period and with the relevant opinion polls. But if this sort of election result is not a reflection of the actual mood, then in no sense can it be regarded as good.

Another big surprise is the relative success of Racan's SDP [Party of Democratic Changes]. Polls indicated that their ratings were such that they might not even make it into the Assembly. Although that party has been in an incredible nosedive since the last elections—its analysts are trying to figure out why this is—it appears that it is completely satisfied with the outcome of the elections, which is perhaps not that unusual. Was this the compensation paid for its preelection campaigning on behalf of President Tudjman—regardless of what that meant—who was declared to be the only mainstay against the advancing right wing (Tomac, Bilandzic)? But perhaps that party succeeded in capitalizing on its slogan "Stay Calm," which is a variant of the old communist [word unclear]; the voters showed signs of intolerance toward election skirmishes, often regarding them as unprincipled bickering.

But the biggest surprise was provided by Savka Dabcevic Kucar and her party, which was regarded as one of the favorites by the public, especially the international public. Perhaps she lost because she is too similar to Tudjman, but that which won votes for her opponent probably took them away from her. In certain regards, she is a Europeanized variant of Tudjmanism. Savka—the public got into the habit of calling her that, by her first name, which is some sort of proof of closeness, in contrast to the president, with whom such intimacy is hard to imagine—entered the election campaign with a certain excess of self-confidence that may have backfired on her. And not only on her, but also on the entire opposition. Savka even dispelled the opposition's intention to boycott the elections. She was unwilling to come to terms with that intention, meaning that she felt that she only stood to gain from elections. But the ebbing of triumphant enthusiasm in her party was felt even during the election campaign. One opinion poll showing slippage by both the party and its leader acted as a cold shower, but the semblance of optimism was maintained by the great Savka's bouyancy and by the fact that the poll in question was simply hushed up.

Now, it turns out that Savka is the biggest loser. Unlike certain others, however, she has managed to endure this catastrophic defeat bravely, which shows once again that she is still an outstanding politician. She congratulated Tudjman and declared that these elections do not mark the end of politics. She differs here from Tudjman, who cannot stand to lose, as well as from certain young lions who achieved respectable success but who were plunged into consternation when they saw that their hopes and predictions did not correspond to what happened. We are talking about the liberals, of course. Although that party has many reasons to celebrate, Drazen Budisa suddenly disappeared from public view, although he had exuded optimism throughout the entire campaign, even after the counting of the votes had begun. But the time of true challenges has only just begun; the time for the young and brave is only just arriving. Budisa once said that he is a great fighter. The need to demonstrate that did not disappear with the conclusion of the elections; it is only just beginning right now.

Second, the Outcome of the Elections Is Much Less a Victory for the Ruling Party Than a Defeat for the Opposition

It turns out that Josip Manolic was right when he said that with this sort of opposition, the party in power can sleep peacefully. The opposition worked toward its own defeat when it agreed to elections in the situation in which Croatia finds itself. The opposition then missed the opportunity to opt for a more equitable position, primarily with respect to election campaign financing. In all democratic countries, there are very precise regulations about how much can be spent on elections, and from what sources. [illegible]ere, there were no restrictions whatsoever in this [illegible]; everyone extended themselves as far as they [illegible] while international observers emphasized this [illegible]us black hole into which millions of marks were [illegible]appearing, money that it was indecent to throw away for that purpose, given the current Croatian situation. The initiative in this was certainly taken by the ruling party, which was tasteless and shamelessly extravagant in its advertising; it is estimated that it spent more than five million marks on boosting its ratings, through a strange combination of primitive humor and airplanes that dragged slogans through the sky or dropped a shower of campaign messages on people from the air. A special television broadcast with a report on a Zagreb campaign rally cost around 400,000 German marks alone. If it was paid for. Who provided the money for this? Where did certain other parties who were just slightly more modest get their money? Who all financed the electoral battle in Croatia? For whose account was it waged?

But the defeat of the opposition can be attributed primarily to the fact that it was not sensible enough to ward off the election law imposed on it. It is improbable that the opposition rejected the possibility of forming a coalition, even though it was known that the majority principle is to the advantage of the ruling party. The opposition's tactics of "every party for itself" in fact constitutes the defeat of rationality. Egotistically competing among themselves, the opposition only destroyed its own chances. Its votes were dissipated among the mass of candidates—so is it any wonder that the ruling party emerged as the victor? In some locations, the HDZ won the elections with one-fifth of the electorate. In Rijeka, for example, its representative won with 18 percent of the votes. Or there is Boris Dvornik, who needed only around 8,000 votes in Split.

The liberals today are very unhappily asking why Savka's party refused to have joint candidates in some places, or rather why she was unwilling to agree not to compete with one another, choosing instead, if possible, to help one another. Did the experienced Savka not see that this undermined the opposition's chances and boosted the

ruling party's chances? Can it be said that by rejecting the liberal offer, Savka's party in fact worked to the advantage of the ruling party? If so, one can conclude that she actually got what she deserved.

The liberals also maintain that they proposed an arrangement with the small rightwing parties, whose leaders' self-love and self-sufficiency destroyed whatever small chance they had. The same is true of the "little parties" on the left, which during talks on drawing together found it more important to stipulate the personnel in each other's leadership ranks than to unite their chances. The result of this is that there will be practically no left wing in the Assembly. The mutual intolerance of leaders of otherwise very similar parties is already much greater than their detachment from the ruling party. Thus, the narcissism of opposition leaders has once again worked in the ruling party's favor.

The same is also true of Dobroslav Paraga. We predicted in our last issue that the radicalism of the HSP, regardless of how fascinating it is in a certain sense on the public scene, would nevertheless do the most for Tudjman. This is because he gains the legitimacy of a reasonable moderate in the world's eyes, while on the domestic political scene he is seen as a source of security by those for whom there is already too much insecurity, those who see in his declarations that the war is over a promise that the war will in fact wind down. Paraga returned to Tudjman a large share of those who had started to turn away from him. If the head of the HSP does not see this, then that only means that he has a lot to learn about politics.

In contrast to the opposition, the ruling party's self-love did not get in the way of its shrewdness. The fact that more than 10 percent of the votes were cast for parties that did not even make it into the Assembly is clear proof that it suited the HDZ for there to be as many competitors in the race as possible. The more parties, the greater the dissipation of votes; the greater the dissipation of votes, the fewer the strong competitors; the less powerful the opposition, the more certain the victory of the ruling party. In this regard, it seems quite likely that certain "small parties" originated at the ruling party's workbench. From the activities of certain parties it is quite evident that they are just a branch of their big brother; for example, Sosic's Croatian Party acts like an advertising agency for extolling the historic role of Tudjman and his party. It seems to have no other program; instead of using its precious minutes on television to introduce itself, it spent them promoting Tudjman.

The opposition did everything it could to be defeated, and, compared to this factor, all previous objections to the way the election was carried out are of marginal significance, although a major scandal could be reaped from certain findings concerning ballots scattered by the wind across lawns in Tresnjevac. Getting mad now about the fact that the elections were not secret—the majority of voters were not provided with private voting booths; instead, it was possible to peek over voters' shoulders, which especially in small towns could clearly influence the results, so that in this regard there is tragicomedy in the statement by the chairman of the election commission to the effect that this did not keep him from voting. Similar is the fact that some election commissions, as the HSP alleges, included members of the HDZ, who justified this by saying that they had frozen their party membership.

Third, the Elections Did Not Bring Change, But Their Outcome Will Clearly Bring Change

Nothing came of the hope that the elections could ensure a necessary condition for democratization of the Croatian political area—a more plural Assembly with greater opposition influence, or rather with a balance between the majority and the minority—so that democratization, if it is to take place in Croatia, will have to take a harder road. But the Assembly will nevertheless change, even though the ruling party will once again have a voting majority; with fewer votes in the elections, it will be assured of a greater number of deputy seats. But the Assembly will still include the most prominent political figures in Croatia, the cream of the opposition, the concentrate of Croatian political intellect, toward which even an HDZ should behave with a certain amount of respect. If it does not exhibit in this way a certain dose of political maturity and tolerance, then it will be necessary to resort to unpopular means. It clearly will not be good if the ruling party behaves toward the others as disparagingly as it does toward the current parliamentary opposition. Naturally, how the opposition behaves depends on the people who will make up the opposition. Budisa, for example, cannot simply remain silent about the label put on him—that he is not a good enough Croat—an assessment to which the opposition in the current Assembly consented.

Second, the outcome of the elections will clearly have an effect on political life, because the parties will inevitably be forced to come to terms with their own election results. Because this relates primarily to failures, they can, and have already begun to, explain this away as a global conspiracy or as ingratitude by the electorate—Marko Veselica, with sorrow in his voice, talks about how he sacrificed everything for Croatia—but some parties will certainly have to question the meaning of their own existence. Splits were already under way in the People's Party before the election, and today this process has allegedly entered an acute phase, with an uncertain outcome. Djukic's Serbian Party has practically announced its dissolution. Some of the small parties, founded just for the elections, will probably fade or will continue to vegetate simply in order for their leaders to have somewhere to work. It is also likely that questions will be raised about unifying kindred parties, those on the right as well as those on the left.

Third, it could be significant for the political scene and other areas to discover that Serbs do in fact live in Croatia and that they must be reckoned with as a political factor. Croatia must face up to the fact that not

a single Serb has won the confidence of the voters in the elections and that now it is necessary to quickly find people who could enter the Assembly on this basis—not only because this is guaranteed by law, but also because the international community insists on it; for observers from the world community, this was one of the subjects to which the greatest amount of attention was devoted, almost as if they were interested only in how the extreme right wing would fare and how minority rights would be guaranteed. Italian sources say that there were problems in this regard: In some places, around 20 percent of the Italian minority was not registered to vote, and the existence of Serbs went almost unnoticed in the elections. Because the one Serbian party did not receive enough votes to enter the circle of the chosen ones—even though it allegedly committed all the friends of its leaders—either Serbs will be recruited from the lists of those parties that did enter the Assembly (and that means primarily the SDP) or supplemental elections will be scheduled for them. For Racan's party, this would be a double-edged sword: On the one hand, more of its deputies would sit in the Assembly than provided for by the elections, while on the other hand it could be labeled as a Serbian party. This is not politically advantageous, nor merited, because all indications are that it was precisely the Serbs who withheld their votes from Racan this time, feeling that in the last mandate he did not live up to their confidence. It appears that this time the Serbs gave their votes to Tudjman, who may have seemed to them to be camomile compared to the bitter herbs of the others.

Thus, the elections are over. Life begins. It remains to be seen, in practice, what Croatia has voted for. The ruling party and its president have reinforced their only recently somewhat shaky legitimacy. For what have they received a mandate? Through their victory, they certainly gain the opportunity to complete and round out that which they have begun. Only then will it be possible to provide a real assessment of their actions. In any case, no one in their position would have an easy time of it. Presumably they have also become aware of this fact, so that this time they are much more restrained in their celebrations. But it is certain that those who were defeated will still not have an easy time with them, meaning both the party and the president. The elections reaffirmed the current government, but no grand prospects were opened up to anyone. One of Tudjman's campaign posters—the sumptuousness of which is practically an anticipation of his promise—contained the slogan "From Victory to Prosperity." We are still far from victory. And as far as prosperity is concerned, if the Croatian nation in the foreseeable future—and thus during Tudjman's new mandate—is even approximately as well off as its president already is today, then it will be possible to say that it elected the right man. But only then.

Constitutional Court Views Serbian Representation

92BA1323A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 92 p 4

[Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia: "The Serbian National Party in the Assembly"] [Text] Zagreb—The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia rendered a decision on Thursday stating in part:

"1. The petition of the Serbian National Party [SNS] that the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia, in supervising the constitutionality and legality of elections, take appropriate steps to ensure members of the Serbian nationality their constitutional and legal right to representation in the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia in proportion to their share in the total population of the Republic of Croatia is hereby honored.

"2. To implement Point 1 of the decision, the court finds that the ethnic parties of members of ethnic and national communities or minorities whose share is more than 6 percent of the population of the Republic of Croatia are not subject to the limiting clause, that is, the criterion set forth in Article 24, Paragraph 4, of the Law on Election of Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, but are rather covered by Articles 10 and 26 of the Law on Election of Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia.

"3. The Election Commission of the Republic of Croatia, consistent with Articles 10 and 26 of the Law on Election, will decide on the basis of the vote obtained by each government slate in the elections which members of particular communities or minorities who were nominated, but not elected, on the state slates are elected deputies to represent those members of minority communities under Article 10, Subparagraph 1, of the Law on Election."

The opinion supporting the decision reads in part:

"The Serbian National Party filed a petition with the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia that in its supervision of the constitutionality and legality of the elections it take appropriate steps to guarantee members of ethnic and national communities or minorities with more than an 8-percent share in the population of the Republic of Croatia the exercise of their constitutional and legal rights to representation in the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia in proportion to their share in the total population, and consistent with Article 18, Paragraphs 1 and 4, of the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Liberties and on the Rights of Ethnic and National Communities or Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (NARODNE NOVINE [official gazette of the Republic of Croatia] No. 34, 1992—collated text), and Articles 10 and 26 of the Law on Election of Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia (NARODNE NOVINE No. 22, 1992).

"They allege that it is not in keeping with these provisions of the Constitutional Law and the Law that ethnic parties of minorities with a more than 8-percent share in the population of the Republic of Croatia be subject to the limiting clause contained in Article 24, Paragraph 4, of the Law on Election of Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, i.e., the criterion which pertains to other state slates on which all members of the

Croatian people vote. That would mean that the state slate of the ethnic parties would have to obtain more than 3 percent of the vote to be able to participate in division of the deputy seats. Thus, no ethnic party would be able to take part in the division of deputy seats, which would make it impossible to apply Article 18 of the Constitutional Law and Article 10 of the Law on Election.

"The petition is well-founded.

"The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia includes among the fundamental freedoms and human and civil rights enumerated in Article 15, Paragraph 1, establishment of equality of members of all nationalities and minorities in the Republic of Croatia.

"In the exercise of that segment of that guarantee that pertains to exercising the general and equal voting right under Article 48 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Article 18, Paragraph 1, of the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Liberties and on the Rights of Ethnic and National Communities or Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (hereinafter: Constitutional Law), it has been established that members of ethnic and national communities or minorities with a share of more than 8 percent of the population of the Republic of Croatia have the right to representation in proportion to their share of the total population in the Assembly and in the Government of the Republic of Croatia, and in the bodies of supreme judicial authority. At the same time, Paragraph 4 of that same article establishes that the manner of election of deputies referred to in Paragraph 1 is to be regulated by law and other enactments governing elections in the Republic of Croatia.

"Accordingly, Article 10, Paragraph 1, of the Law on Election of Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia (hereinafter: the Law) has established that members of ethnic and national communities or minorities with a share of more than 8 percent on the basis of the 1981 population census have the right to representation in the Croatian Assembly in proportion to their share of the total population in the manner set forth in that Law, and the basis for calculating their proportional representation in the House of Representatives is the number of representatives in that chamber, which is 120.

"The manner in which members of national and ethnic communities or minorities exercise the right under Article 10, Paragraph 1, of the Law has been prescribed in Article 26 of the Law.

"Under Article 26 of the Law, if in elections of deputies to the House of Representatives the representation of ethnic and national communities or minorities is not achieved as required under Article 10 of the Law, the number of deputies in the House of Representatives will be increased to the number needed to achieve the required representation, and those members of a particular community or minority nominated on the state slates, but not elected will be considered elective representatives in the order of the vote received by that slate in the election.

"As the national party of members of the Serbian nationality, the Serbian National Party put forth a state slate in the elections scheduled to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia; however, it received less than 3 percent of the votes of voters who voted, and if the provision of Article 24, Paragraph 4, of the Law on Election concerning the so-called restrictive clause were also applied to the slates of the national parties of members of minorities, they would be prevented from exercising the rights guaranteed them by Article 18 of the Constitutional Law and Article 10 of the Law.

"The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia believes that the criterion for participation in the distribution of deputy seats referred to in Article 24, Paragraph 4, of the Law does not apply to the slates of the ethnic parties."

Government Criticized for Accepting Refugees

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[Text] Belgrade, August 19 (TANJUG)—The representatives of extreme right-wing Slovenian parties and their followers are criticizing the government for accepting some 70,000 refugees, saying that it has thus "imported more economic immigrants," the Belgrade daily BORBA writes on Wednesday [19 August].

Dissatisfaction among Slovenian citizens culminated when representatives of the Slovenian National Party revealed that the daily cost of supporting refugees is 22,000 tolars, which is more than an average monthly income in Slovenia.

Refugees in the Hruscica camp near Jesenice, a town in north-western Slovenia, complain that they are being abused and intimidated by organized Slovenian groups.

However, a representative of the Slovenian Defence Ministry, Tomaz Kucic, says that one refugee costs between 280 and 500 tolars daily. This primarily concerns some 17,000 refugees in various acceptance centres, while another 50,000 are being supported by their relatives in Slovenia, Kucic said.

Chairman of the Working Group for Refugees Franko Juri warns that blowing the issue out of proportions could incite demands for expulsion and lynch of refugees in Slovenia. At the same time, those criticizing the government for accepting refugees ignore the fact that over a million dollars have been sent for this purpose to Slovenia from abroad.

Juri says that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Italy provide money for the daily support of 2,000 refugees in Slovenia, and that the World Islamic Organization pays for the expenses of another 10,000.

Representatives of right-wing parties say that the figures are fabricated, but the government has so far managed to assure the public that the number of refugees in Slovenia will not exceed 70,000, and that their problems will be dealt with the help of international organizations.

Foreign Minister Discusses Upcoming Tasks

AU2008164292

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene at 1500 GMT on 19 August broadcasts its regular live call-in program "Studio at 1700," with guest Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, who is in the Radio Koper studio. The moderator in the studio says, the forthcoming Conference on Yugoslavia, Slovene relations with the former Yugoslav republics, especially with the FRY, and work of the Slovene Foreign Ministry will be the main topics of the program.

The first moderator's question concerns the Conference on Yugoslavia that is scheduled to take place in London on 26 August. The moderator observes that "a week before the conference it is still not clear what the objectives of the conference are." Rupel responds: "I can tell you my opinion, and I can convey to you some views of the Slovene participants in former similar conferences, and, of course, I can convey some views that I have learned from the sources in our embassies, that is to say, from our representatives abroad. Regarding Slovenia, we are striving for the conference in London to be the continuation and strengthening of the former conference in Brussels, [EC brokered Conference on Yugoslavia], in short, that more strength is found in London to accomplish what could not be accomplished in Brussels. I seems to me, and certain reports imply this, that the British wish to overcome the feeling of stagnation with this conference and that they want to achieve some serious results. An impression is that they would perhaps like to accomplish this even at the price of greater pressure on the Muslims, which is not exactly what we, in Slovenia, support. We fear that a gradual legitimization could take place at this conference, that is to say, that the so-called FRY would slowly be introduced and domesticated in the international forums and that is, perhaps, where some great expectations on the part of [FRY Prime Minister] Mr. Panic and some others lay. At the moment, we are still sorting out our views. However, we wish to influence this conference, too. In this regard I sent a longer letter to the foreign ministers of all countries—participants in this conference—in which I tried to explain our stance."

When asked about the platform content of the conference, Rupel answers that he has not seen the document but adds that he has learned that the agenda will consist of issues such as refugees, protection of human rights, constitution of the Bosnian state, protection for humanitarian aid, and concludes that all issues "will more or less relate to Bosnia-Hercegovina." Rupel then says "that protection of Bosnia-Hercegovina's statehood, protection of what was internationally recognized" is one of the topics the Slovene side is particularly interested in and will particularly insist upon.

When the moderator asks Rupel whether he believes that the "confederal option for Bosnia-Hercegovina" will be given "a special status, or perhaps even priority" at the London conference, Rupel answers:

"I am more afraid that the temptation of dividing Bosnia-Hercegovina up might occur at the London conference, that is to say, that an option that is in my opinion and in our opinion very dangerous would be embraced—namely, that this territory may simply be divided into a Serbian and a Croatian part. However, it seems to me that this will not be quite as easy because of international public opinion and, I believe, also because of us and some other participants. At the latest talks in Brussels [14 August] Lord Carrington [chairman of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia] was more in favor of a

simpler solution—here I again talk about my impression—that is to say, he warned us that both main negotiators, the Croats and the Serbs, are not, I quote, motivated for an equal incorporation of the Muslim element. This is a very dangerous option, a great danger for this conference, and I must add here that there were even some hints from the United States that they are not pleased, that they are aware of this danger, and they are pressing for the conference to primarily endorse equal treatment of all three ethnic groups."

The moderator also touches upon "Slovenia's contradictory position" at the conference in London, as Slovenia would on one hand like to distance itself from the Yugoslav problems as much as possible while "the political interests dictate that Slovenia continue to cooperate at the conference." He asks Rupel whether Slovenia has prepared any "new initiatives" for the London conference, and whether Rupel sees any purpose in Slovenia continuing to advocate the creation of "safe havens in Bosnia."

Rupel replies: "You are right, we are in a contradictory situation. We must be present at the Conference on Yugoslavia that will partially take place in London and partially in Geneva because of other problems that we share with the former Yugoslavia. There is the issue of succession, division of debts and assets, and so forth, and actually these are the only issues that truly interest us. However, the other issue of interest to us is the issue of refugees. Slovenia is full of these refugees, and it is very much in our interest that an overall and systematic solution be found for the problem of refugees."

Speaking of the future objectives for Slovene foreign policy, Rupel says: "The territory of the former Yugoslavia is definitely one of the regions where we have to be active, not only because, and especially not because of some sentimental emotions that would link us to this territory, but because this would become an economically interesting region for us once the situation calms down, because they are our neighbors, and so forth." Rupel emphasizes that "Bosnia is our topic whether we want it to be or not."

Regarding the Slovene initiative for safe havens in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Rupel says: "In the letter that we sent to the foreign ministers today, we explicitly speak of safe havens as the beginning of the protection for the Muslim segment of Bosnia-Hercegovina and a sort of test of international solidarity. We believe that safe havens have to be established so that the Muslims, that is to say, the endangered population of all nationalities, would be able to find shelter there. In the opposite case, these people will go elsewhere, as we have already seen. The only way to keep them, that is to say, to help them stay on their own domestic territory is to try to establish these safe havens. We will repeat this demand of ours, and this demand has not lost its importance."

The moderator then asks Rupel whether the London conference "has any chance of success at all if Serbian President Milosevic does not attend."

Rupel says that it seems to him that the United States and the majority of other countries are interested in Milosevic's arrival at the conference, and Milosevic's possible absence would have to be interpreted in a special way. He continues: "Milosevic was a very important, if not the most important, factor in Serbia, and he definitely still is today to the extent to which he is capable of resolving certain military goals, actions, and so on. However, it seems to me that [FRY President] Cosic is the one who has been spiritually in charge of everything for a longer period of time, and that Cosic has assessed that it would presently be easier to make use of Mr. Panic who is different in his rhetoric and a sort of media star. It seems to me that Cosic has decided that right now he cannot place his bet on his military horse, that is to say, on Milosevic, but on his diplomatic horse who happens to be Mr. Panic. I have heard that Milosevic might attend the conference as a member of the delegation led by Cosic. We will not accept this gladly. We stated in the aforementioned letter that regarding the six former republics that participated from the very beginning, we are the participants of this conference and we do not recognize Mr. Panic or Mr. Cosic as representatives of both nations and of the two Republics of Serbia and Montenegro. We believe that this would be a dangerous precedent. Others do not."

When the moderator asks whether Slovenia will participate at the conference even if Panic or Cosic attend, Rupel replies that "Slovenia will definitely be present at the conference."

When asked to comment on why Kucan [president of the Slovene Presidency] refused to meet Panic when "everybody, including the Croatian president" met with him, Rupel says: "I will not deny that I also was consulted on how to act in this case. This happened on three occasions, first in Helsinki at the CSCE summit where Mr. Panic wanted to speak to Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Drnovsek, then Kucan was asked to receive Mr. Panic in Ljubljana upon Panic's return from Spain, and the third time was in Brussels. I am trying to explain to you that prejudice or stubbornness do not play any role in whether any of us will meet Mr. Panic or not. This involves important political decisions and important strategic reservations. We do not recognize the FRY. We believe that the FRY should not be allowed to enter the international community through the back door, retaining the personality of the old Yugoslavia [words indistinct] and the international recognition that SFRY once had. Therefore, we insist very emphatically that the FRY must go through the same procedure of recognition as the other republics, for example Slovenia. We are afraid that a nonchalant attitude toward the FRY Government could contribute to the unjustified legitimization of this state."

Asked to comment on the presence of U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger at the conference, Rupel says that he "is very pleased to be able to meet him" at the conference, and states that the rumors of Eagleburger's "overt emotional links with Serbia" have been exaggerated. Rupel's hypothesis is that the United States will "hold back and let Europe take the lead" at the conference.

Rupel is then asked by the moderator whether there were any meetings at which Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina coordinated their views. He says that the Slovene delegation met with President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Izetbegovic and Macedonian President Gligorov at the last plenary session of the Conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels and adds that "Kucan exchanged few words with Croatian President Tudjman, too." Rupel says "it has been proposed" to coordinate the appearance at the London conference in Ljubljana prior to the departure to London. However, Rupel states, it is more important "to get the Europeans to support our ideas." He says "it is clear that the Bosnians agree with us and the same probably applies to Macedonians." "However," Rupel says "regarding the Croats, well, this is a special matter."

The moderator in the studio then asks Rupel to comment on accusations by the Croatian media that "he is the main culprit" for the deteriorated Slovene-Croatian relations.

Rupel says: "The problem of the Slovene-Croat relations is complicated in general. The Slovene side in the past few months sent, I believe, 23 various drafts of proposals, agreements, and so forth, to Croatia that were already agreed upon at the government level but were not ratified. That is to say, no final agreement was reached. One of the issues that is often raised is the issue of the border. We cannot even discuss the border before we reach an agreement on what a border is supposed to be, an agreement to maintain the historic border, that is to say, the border that existed earlier on the map. Without this agreement, our commissions cannot start to work. All this is at a standstill. This is one matter, and I have no special interest in going into a global analysis of the Slovene-Croatian relations, as this is a very broad problem. Regarding concrete foreign affairs aspects of these relations, I must say that Slovenia helped Croatia enormously from the very beginning. I personally did much for the promotion of Croatia. However—and this is not my invention—in Slovenia we lately have come to certain conclusions regarding the Croatian foreign policy that does not entirely match our views. For example, there is the issue of Bosnia-Hercegovina, their engagement there, and so forth. Our Council of Defense discussed this and so on, several consultations were carried out, and I believe that the Slovene views are rather unanimous. To briefly recap what I have already said, we are opposed to the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina because we believe that it is better for Croatia, too, to have an independent and sovereign state on its borders and not to have a direct border with Serbia—right, now this is again a very complicated issue."

The moderator then asks Rupel whether he still stands behind his recent statement that Croatia is also involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Rupel says: "What I wanted to say, what was important, and what others also say is that not enough attention is being paid to the third segment of the Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens, to the third nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is to say, the Muslims, and that the Muslims will decide on numerous issues concerning the further development of the Bosnia-Hercegovina story. They are the ones who are presently mostly fleeing from Bosnia-Hercegovina as refugees, they are the ones who are knocking on the doors of safe European homes, they are now the key element for the solution, the key to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They are also the most numerous group—42 percent, if I am not mistaken. I believe that they should be given all due attention and that the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina should not simply be viewed as a problem of the Croatian and Serbian population."

The moderator then asks Rupel why Slovenia does not take the initiative and present new proposals that would help overcome the deadlock "as the problems are very pressing."

Rupel replies: "It is not true that Slovenia is not taking the initiative. I have already told you that we have numerous proposals that the Croats are aware of, we proposed drafts of numerous agreements ranging from border zone cooperation, tourist cooperation, state border, fishing agreement, payment operations, and so on—I believe that Slovenia prepared 23 such agreements with the initial cooperation of the Croatian side—but we received no reply to all this. Kucan recently said that there is a lack of dialogue at the highest level. I must again go back in history here. Our delegation paid an official visit to Croatia but the Croatian delegation did not pay an official visit to Slovenia despite the claims of having excellent relations. Therefore, we will first have to realize what was proposed, and then things can move from the current standstill."

Rupel concludes by saying: "We must sit down at the highest level and put the controversial issues on the table. Slovenia will then come out with its trumps, as we, of course, do have the possibility of repaying the Croatian side in kind. We will simply have to reach an agreement. I believe that the policy that would merely yield and wait for hints from the opposite side is not good. I believe that our policy was perfectly consistent here."

A radio listener asks Rupel whether the government plans to limit the influx of Bosnia-Hercegovina refugees, and Rupel replies that Slovenia "can unfortunately no longer receive refugees." He announces "the introduction of some additional measures of a police nature to

protect our border." Rupel adds that Slovenia will let all foreigners holding valid visas travel freely across Slovene territory.

The final part of the program concentrates on the work of the Slovene Foreign Ministry in light of the announced financial restrictions for all government ministries and on forthcoming general elections in Slovenia.

Refugees on Conditions in 'Concentration' Camps

92BA1312A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Aug 92 p 2

[Article by Peter Potocnik: "Worse Than Under the Nazis"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] A monument to the Balkan slaughter at the end of the 20th century; half a million Muslims facing expulsion or death; more than 100,000 camp inmates already dead.

(From our correspondent) Zagreb, 3 Aug—Except for the Rights Party members, who will punish Serbia for its crimes by "bombing and destroying Belgrade"? None of the 27 political parties that participated in the presidential and semiparliamentary elections in Croatia on Sunday mentioned a word in the election campaign about the tragedy of the Croatian and Muslim internees in registered and unregistered Serbian concentration camps. Consequently, most of those who have survived the Serbian Golgotha are responding to the war cry of Paraga's party, which is calling people to arms rather than to peace.

"We actually still do not have exact data on the living and the dead in the Serbian concentration camps. That is why we are also publishing incomplete data on the dead and missing, but it will all be clearer on 7 August, the deadline for the expiration of the agreement between NASA [expansion unknown] and the Serbian, i.e., Yugoslav Government, on the unconditional exchange of all prisoners, i.e., including those from Vukovar who have been sentenced to death. The agreement was signed by Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic, and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Prime Minister Milan Panic," stated Dr. Ivica Kostic, member of the chief sanitation headquarters of the Croatian army, who is responsible for the exchange of Croatian and Serbian prisoners.

Our mysterious interlocutor, who as a defender of Vukovar spent seven months in Serbian prisons and camps, expects that his 17-year-old brother will also return from Serbian captivity. The publication of his name and surname could only be harmful: "You can only write down that I am from Zagreb and that I was already participating as a volunteer in the defense of the city of Vukovar at the beginning of last August. I defended the famous custom-house there along with my fellow soldiers," the 21-year-old F.G. said.

"Upon the fall of Vukovar on 20 November 1991, I had bad luck. First of all I was captured by the Cetniks, and I only survived because I waited for the occupiers in civilian clothing, and destroyed my documents. The army soldiers had already prevented a massacre in Vukovar. Then I was seized by Arkan's troops, who drove me with my hands tied toward Serbia. They forced us to sing Cetnik songs. They blindfolded us and beat us relentlessly for three days and nights. We thus ended up half-dead in Sremska Mitrovica, where unbearable torture continued for several months; among other things, they castrated me.

"After a sort of recovery, they transferred me to Batajnica, and then I spent the last months at forced labor in Aleksinac. I still do not understand how I survived and obtained my freedom in one of the exchanges."

Methods of Torture

At the Zagreb club of exiled residents of Vukovar, which is also gathering information on the missing, they do not know anything about the fate of 5,000 fellow city residents who died in Serbian camps or the killing fields of Vukovar, Dalj, and other parts of eastern Slavonia or Serbia. The director of the Vukovar hospital, Dr. Vesna Bosanac, who spent only 20 days in Serbian camps and in Sremska Mitrovica, said that during daily interrogation they employed Informburo methods, also including a sort of court trial that they prepared for her before her release. After her return she did not have any essential complaints about the food. Our interlocutor F.G. also said that in the beginning he received enough bread, and once a week even some slices of sausage, and in the end during the forced labor he also received food that was relatively nourishing. A real contrast to this is the statements from the camp inmates who have arrived from Bosnia-Hercegovina these days, since their statements make the concentration camps in Serbia seem like first-class hotels.

"For two months I lived, or died, in an athletic field, where every day I received only a crust of bread and a few spoonfuls of bean soup. In a month I received perhaps a kilogram and a half of bread. Whoever complained vanished somewhere unknown. In the end they forced us to renounce our property and leave our homeland. When I was signing the papers, I was immeasurably happy," related 58-year-old Atif Ajanovic, who arrived in Karlovac last week with a group of exiles from Bosanski Novi. His completely withered body bears witness that he is telling the truth.

Ethnic Cleansing

The pattern according to which the Serbian attackers tried to carry out the plan of an "ethnically pure Greater Serbia" is actually completely identical to the one used at the beginning of the Croatian-Serbian war. The violence, massacres, and unbearable torture are only being increased. Zeljko Anic, an exile from Tovarnik, recalls that the Cetniks and the army attacked his area on 20 September and that on the very first day the Cetniks killed 18 people who did not want to cede their land to

the Serbian state. All the others found themselves under house arrest or in a temporarily established concentration camp in Tovarnik. Later, at the end of October, under the protection of European observers, they were exiled to the liberated territory of Croatia.

The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees found itself in a similar role at the beginning of last week, when under Serbian pressure and because of threats of a massacre, it organized the transportation of around 10,000 Muslims from Bosanski Novi.

A Million People in the Camps?

In Bosnia-Hercegovina almost every occupied area has turned into a concentration camp, in which people are dying from shells and hunger, just like the 70,000 residents and refugees of Gorazde. We can speak of mass camps and places of execution for the ethnically "pure Greater Serbia." In Brcko alone they established three concentration camps, in infamous Luka they killed 3,000 people, and camp inmates are dying en masse in the Partizan gymnasium and in the suburban development of Brezovo Polje. Only the most able and least suspect were taken away for forced labor in Semberijska Njiva or in the interior of Serbia. Two weeks ago, because of a shortage of food, 10,000 surviving locals and refugees were driven out of Teslici, and the Srnjak and Rankovice villages have turned into a mass camp and place of execution. Jajce, the birthplace of the second Yugoslavia, has also become a concentration camp, where 30,000 Muslims and 20,000 Croats are dying in the Serbian encirclement. The Muslims and Croats in Banja Luka and the vicinity, who have been resettled in camps near Kozara, have been condemned to a violent or slow death. The Banja Luka bishop, Dr. Franjo Komarica, has rejected an offer from the Serbian occupying authorities to let him abandon the dying faithful. There is a real hell in the Bihac and Cazin area, which once flourished and died with Kladusa's Agrokomerc; now 100,000 people have been sentenced to death or to forced emigration.

"The events in Bosnia-Hercegovina reveal the background of the sinister games of the great powers, through which they are to stop the Muslim wedge in Bosnia-Hercegovina that is being driven into Europe, since the Croatian Catholics are perhaps the only ones who do not see Islam as any sort of danger to their existence," stated Drazen Budisa, the leader of the Croatian Liberals. According to incomplete data, death in the Serbian concentration camps has already overtaken more than 100,000 people, primarily Muslims. Approximately 10 times as many more are dying in the killing fields in larger or smaller towns and villages in the Bosnian hills, mountains, and valleys, and in eastern Hercegovina, which is still in the hands of the Serbian occupiers. The world community has only punished them with an economic blockade. It seems that we are only at the beginning of a real refugee problem as a result of the Balkan slaughter, which under these circumstances is still the happiest alternative, since it at least keeps people alive.

Federal

Prime Minister Receives Yeltsin Envoy; Holds Talks

LD2108102992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0841 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin in Belgrade's Palace of Federation today. The deputy minister arrived in Belgrade yesterday in his capacity as Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy.

Their talks, attended by Russian Ambassador to Yugoslavia Genaddiy Shikin, were focused on the London Conference on Yugoslavia, which is due to be held next week. In the course of their talks, it was assessed that the conference should concentrate on the future, and seek solutions which would bring about as soon as possible an end to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Churkin acquainted Prime Minister Panic with the Russian leadership's assessment supporting his constructive and far-reaching messages to the world, which seek to establish peace in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

The talks also touched on some matters regarding Yugoslavia's membership in international organizations.

Churkin Comments on Talks

LD2108130292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1119 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—Russia is striving to maintain its unbiased attitude toward the complex crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia as it attributes a great deal of significance to the upcoming London Conference on Yugoslavia, Vitaliy Ivanovich Churkin said today following his talks with Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in the Palace of Federation in New Belgrade.

Following his one-hour meeting with President Cosic and his earlier meeting this morning with with Prime Minister Panic, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin assessed that these "were the two key meetings in Belgrade," without elaborating further. He only said that the talks "were interesting and beneficial." Churkin stressed: "One should do everything to turn the London conference into an effective step toward the establishment of peace." "In recent days," he added, "we have carried out active consultations with some of the participants in the conference as we maintain that it is necessary to have consultations with the Yugoslav leadership here in Belgrade as well, because we believe that Yugoslavia's role and attitude will play a very important part in the conference."

Asked what message he had brought to Belgrade and to his talks with the top personalities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Churkin replied: "This is a very direct question. Very complicated problems are at stake here; we discussed their various aspects."

He nevertheless reiterated the attitude heard recently in Moscow, "that recently there has been a number of positive and constructive statements conveying attitudes which could in effect contribute to the resolving of the crisis." "We would like these trends to remain on the same course, and maintain that this is some kind of support for further work in, understandably, mutual contacts with all those involved in the crisis," Churkin concluded.

There will be an official statement following the Cosic-Churkin talks. We have unofficially learned that President Yeltsin's special envoy will talk today with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, and with the leadership of Montenegro in Podgorica. Churkin's news conference is scheduled for this afternoon in Belgrade.

Panic Meets CSCE Delegation, Discusses Kosovo

LD2008114692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Milan Panic, president of the Yugoslav Government, asked the CSCE mission today to assist in facilitating talks the government initiated with the legitimate representatives of the Albanians in Kosovo. In this way, the CSCE could make a real contribution to resolving the situation in Kosovo, which would be far more effective than theorizing about human rights, Panic said.

The Yugoslav prime minister received the CSCE mission in his office in Belgrade and had long and very open talks with its members. The mission is being led by CSCE Chairman Jozef Moravcik, foreign minister of the CSFR. [passage omitted]

We need to involve the Kosovo Albanians in the system so they can become a part of political life, participate in elections, be represented in the organs of government, and so on, Panic said. He added that the various boycotts are no feature of democracy.

Panic said that it is easy to theorize about human rights but that those who are coming here to do so, including your countries, voted for sanctions against us. With these sanctions people are deprived of their human rights—the right to have food and other basic necessities, to have heating and so on in the coming winter. One human life in Kosovo is more important to me than all the books on human rights, he stressed. So far we have succeeded in not perishing in Kosovo and we will do all that we can to ensure that that continues to be so.

He reiterated that he would greatly welcome the assistance of the CSCE in opening a dialogue with the representatives of the Albanians in Kosovo because the Kosovo problem should be resolved by peaceful dialogue and in no other way. Panic informed the members of the mission that his government is making efforts to restart

teaching in Albanian schools in the Albanian language as early as next month, after a break of two years, and the Ministry of Justice has been instructed to bring legislation in Kosovo fully into line with the highest norms of the CSCE with regard to human rights.

Milan Panic stressed that it is important that we should be given the chance to resolve the problems ourselves, with the help and observatory role of the CSCE. These are very specific problems, he said, and they cannot be solved in the same way as elsewhere. However, Panic said, we would be prepared to send our delegations, for example, to Northern Ireland, Spain, and elsewhere to see how the problems of the Irish and Basques are solved, and to learn something firsthand.

The problems we are facing are the consequence of a policy conducted by the communist government. We are now changing that policy, but under the difficult circumstances of sanctions. This government did not bring about the war; it wants to end the conflicts, and it needs the world's help to do so.

In this context, there was a discussion on the London Conference on Yugoslavia, during which Panic mentioned his attitude toward the plans to invite Slobodan Milosevic. He said that the world has described Milosevic in the worst terms and is now trying to get him to come to London, "probably to pronounce some sort of judgment on him there." This is unnecessary, Panic said, adding that the Yugoslav Government is conducting its foreign policy. Yugoslavia should therefore be officially represented in London, and international support should be secured to resolve the crisis.

Moravcik Says Panic 'Skeptical'

LD2008215692 Prague CSTK in English 1938 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade/Skopje Aug 20 (CSTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik summed up his meeting today with Milan Panic, the premier of the Serbian-Montenegrin Yugoslav state, saying Panic was "skeptical about sending CSCE missions to areas where national minorities live".

Moravcik, the current chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Council of Ministers, arrived in Belgrade Thursday [20 August] with a CSCE delegation to investigate the feasibility of sending long-term observer missions to areas of the former Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanian, Hungarian and Muslim minorities.

On board a flight to Skopje for talks with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and Premier Nikola Kljusev, Moravcik told CSTK that Panic said observer missions could provoke the local populations rather than calming them down.

According to Panic, the average citizen in the new Yugoslav state looks at the CSCE with distrust.

Asked whether he had the impression that politicians in Serbia have "their territories" under control and can guarantee that ceasefires will not be violated, Moravcik replied: "We have no guarantees, only promises. We have to build on that".

Leaders of the Slovak population in the Vojvodina region of Serbia today told CSTK that they see no reason why they should not be allowed to participate in the conference on Yugoslavia in London at the end of this month.

After meeting with members of the CSCE delegation in Belgrade, Miroslav Demak of the Slovak cultural organisation "Matice Slovenska" said the 63,000 Slovaks in Serbia are loyal to the state.

Noting the damage and loss of lives caused by the civil war in Yugoslavia, Demak said local Slovaks want nothing more than their most basic human right, the right to life.

After his meeting with Gligorov, Moravcik told CSTK that the Macedonian president accepted the proposal for CSCE missions to come to Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandjak.

Gligorov told journalists that he welcomed the idea of having the missions prevent military conflict from expanding into Macedonia.

Parties Want Single FRY Delegation at Conference

LD2008212292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2032 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the parliamentary parties of Serbia and Montenegro on Thursday [20 August] stated that a single delegation of Yugoslavia should take part in the London conference on Yugoslavia only provided that it might represent the country's interests on an equal footing with other participating states.

Representatives of the 21 parties of Serbia and Montenegro, the republics that make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) said that a single delegation should be headed by F.R.Y. President Dobrica Cosic. It has not yet been known who will take part in the international conference in London on August 26.

Cosic told representatives of parties in Serbia and Montenegro that he and Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic had received invitations to London by Lord Carrington who failed to mention their official posts but sent letters to them as private persons.

In his letters to Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Momir Bulatovic of Monetengro, however, Lord Carrington mentioned their presidential offices.

Cosic said that Lord Carrington's letters of invitation suggested that the key question was posed in the most

acute form concerning the "continuity or discontinuity of Yugoslavia, expressed in an aggressive denial of our (F.R.Y.) existence as the state entity."

After the secession of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the remaining two republics, Serbia and Montenegro, continued to live together in their common state.

Unlike the seceded republics that have been recognized internationally (except for Macedonia, due to Greece's opposition), the right to stay together within new Yugoslavia is being denied to Serbia and Montenegro.

Foreign Minister Optmistic About London Conference

LD2008161792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1322 GMT 19 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 19 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Vladislav Jovanovic said on Wednesday [19 August] that the international Conference on Yugoslavia in London could really contribute to a peaceful settlement of the crisis if the interests of all Yugoslav nations are objectively and equally respected.

Minister Jovanovic said this to mission heads of movement of non-alignment members and observers with whom he discussed preparations for the 10th non-aligned summit in Djakarta.

Minister Jovanovic also spoke about the activities of the Yugoslav Government towards a peaceful solution of the crisis and an end to the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Sandzak Council To Attend London Conference

AU2008163892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] A news conference held in Novi Pazar announced the decisions that the Muslim National Council of Sandzak made at its conference held on 16 August behind closed doors, along with the invitation that, according to Sulejman Ugljanin, Lord Carrington sent to the Muslim National Council of Sandzak to participate in the London conference. Here is a report by Novi Pazar Radio reporter Slavka Bakracevic.

[Begin recording] The Sandzak Party of Democratic Action representatives will travel to London, party leader Sulejman Ugljanin told reporters today. It is, however, not clear to him from the letter that he said he received and from telephone conversations whether he will be able to speak about the problems of Muslims at the conference. The Party of Democratic Action leader said that the French, German, and Turkish delegations have already promised him that he will not be just an observer in London.

Expounding on the decisions made a couple of days ago, Ugljanin said that the Muslim National Council will interrupt all contacts with the authorities of Serbia, Montenegro, and the so-called Yugoslavia until terror against Muslims stops and the status of the Muslim people is resolved. Sandzak Muslim deputies are withdrawing from the assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro and are going to form a caucus of Sandzak deputies that is going make contacts with international institutions.

Muslims are not going to serve an additional term in the Army because they claim that this represents another form of pressure on them. Ugljanin claimed today that the Muslim Council of Sandzak does not have any national defense council or any kind of armed formation, but only a human rights forum that corroborates the thesis on peaceful solutions to problems. [end recording]

Exchanged POW's Complain of Mistreatment in Jails

LD2008182992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel Bozidar Stevanovic, the Air Force and Air Defense commander of the Yugoslav Army, today received three of the five pilots exchanged six days ago when Croatia and Yugoslavia exchanged a large number of POW's in Nemetin.

After a conversation with the commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, the three exchanged pilots held a news conference, at which they described the conditions in the Lora prison, the former Yugoslav naval base in Split, as unbearable and said that "they even bring in civilians to beat the prisoners."

According to the exchanged pilots, in order to "fulfill their quota for the exchange" the Croatian authorities arrested civilians who were afterwards changed in Kerestinec prison in Zagreb into gray [JNA] uniforms.

Refugee Convoy From Sarajevo Arrives in Belgrade

LD2008112592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0442 GMT 19 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 19 (TANJUG)—A convoy with refugees from Sarajevo, the capital of the war-torn Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which has been under a siege over the past four and a half months, arrived in Belgrade at around 1.30 a.m. local time on Wednesday [20 August].

Three hundred and thirty-two women and children arrived in seven buses, said a Red Cross official.

A convoy with around 1,000 refugees, escorted by members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), left Sarajevo on Tuesday morning and most of the refugees took off in several Serbian towns en route to Belgrade.

The group includes Serbs, Moslems, Croats, ethnic Albanians, romanies, two Egyptians and a Romanian.

Military Intervention Seen as 'Adding Oil to Fire'

AU2008090592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 92

[Bosko Santic commentary]

[Text] The Western world, which is so unselfish in offering humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina, was again warned yesterday that they should not do so with the use of force. Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Herceg-Bosna, said that military intervention in this former Yugoslav republic would not solve anything, but would instead freeze the current situation. He added that political negotiations had to be held, because only they could contribute to a cease-fire.

On the same day, Canadian General Louis MacKenzie, former commander of the UN forces in Sarajevo, was categorical in rejecting the possibility of imposing peace by force, since intervention could only widen the conflict.

If Bush and his European block really want to play a fair game in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which should be implied in the very name of humanitarian aid, then they should seriously take stock of these warnings. Maybe it is understandable that the voice of the satanized Serbs is not heeded, but how can one explain the fact that the same is said by the representative of the second out of the three warring nations, and the unbiased, and probably the most competent person—the Canadian general, who spent a long time in the area, and understood the nature of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Maybe neither Boban nor MacKenzie know how to stop the war, but they know how it cannot be stopped—by military intervention, which would only add oil to the fire. The Chinese warned against it, and we do not believe it was because of their ancient wisdom. One does not have to be particularly clever to realize that peace cannot be achieved with force, and that three nations cannot go back to loving one another just because Bush would have it so. And who would enjoy Bush's sandwiches dropping from the air if they are flavored with bombs. Such humanity, when one is to bomb someone in order to feed him, is yet to be recorded.

Will the Western world heed this and many other warnings by experts on the Bosnia-Hercegovina situation, that military intervention could result in unforeseeable consequences? We can hope so, but let us not believe it.

Cosic Addresses Political Parties on FRY Policy

LD2008205492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 20 Aug 92

["Full text" of speech by Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic at a meeting with representatives of political parties in Belgrade on 20 August]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—A consultative meeting was held in Belgrade today between Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and representatives of parliamentarian parties in the Federal Assembly and the assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro. The meeting was devoted to the upcoming Conference on Yugoslavia in London.

The full text of President Cosic's address at the beginning of the meeting is as follows:

As I have already told you in the letter I sent to you prior to this meeting, I have invited you representatives of the parliamentarian parties of all three assemblies—republican and federal—so that I can hear your opinions on the policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the international Conference on Yugoslavia, which will start on 26 August in London. As Lord Carrington's invitation, sent at 1300 on 19 August, says: This conference will strive to "open a continuing process of negotiation in order to bring about a peaceful solution for Yugoslavia."

If the EC's policies so far and Carrington's attempts to put an end to Yugoslavia's destruction and achieve peace are anything to go by, the international conference on Yugoslavia in London can be of exceptional, perhaps even fateful, significance for the peoples and states in the Yugoslav and Balkan sphere. It can devise sensible democratic and forward-looking solutions, but it also can, through its decisions, result in a permanent destabilization of the Yugoslav and Balkan region and revive the East European issue in Europe and throughout the world with different protagonists and new contents.

From a historical perspective, the London conference can assume the character of the Berlin congress [1878]. I do not wish to dwell further on the past, as it is almost certain that the conference is bound by its fundamental principles to annul the Versailles peace in its southern Slavic and Balkan state-political realms.

The responsibility for our participation at this conference, responsibility for the state-political stances which the Yugoslav delegation is to represent, responsibility for the acceptance or nonacceptance of the decisions of that world political meeting, must in my view be shared with the political, intellectual, academic, and religious representatives of the people of Serbia and Montenegro, with the aim of achieving the greatest possible and lasting national and civil unity at this crucial time. The consequences of the London conference will be borne by us all, and not only those of us here now, but also by future generations, our descendants, so that it is a reasonable,

moral, and patriotic act for us to agree, with rational respect for our differences, on what should be done.

I will mention some issues on which I would like your views.

First, I received by fax at 1326 on 19 August a letter from Lord Carrington which reads:

Dear Mr. Cosic,

After due consideration and consultation, the conclusion has been reached, as you know, that we should expand the basis of the peace efforts concerning Yugoslavia. To this end, a conference is being convened as an intensification of the EC process, which will bring together a broader circle of governments, including of course the republics of the former SFRY, the United Nations, and other organizations. The conference will be held in London and will last for two or three days beginning on 26 August. Dr. Butrus-Ghali has agreed to open the conference with the British prime minister. It will be held under their chairmanship. The conference will endeavor to open a continuing process of negotiation with the aim of finding a peaceful solution in Yugoslavia.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to attend the meeting.

Sincerely,

[Signed] Carrington.

I replied:

Dear Lord Carrington,

To my great surprise, your letter of 14 August 1992 was sent to me by fax only today, 19 August. I was even more surprised that you did not address me in the appropriate and, I believe, mutually agreed manner. Before I reply to your invitation, I would like to know precisely whom you are inviting: Dobrica Cosic, a private individual, or Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

[Signed] Dobrica Cosic

I am still awaiting a reply from Lord Carrington. A letter with the same content was received by Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, but with the form of address: Dear Mr. President.... The prime minister of the Federal Government received the same letter, which begins Dear Mr. Panic....

As you have heard, Lord Carrington does not inform any of us in the FRY of the conference agenda or of its participants. From the policies of the EC hitherto and the statements of its members, individual ministers, and officials, from the work of the commissions which have been concerned with Yugoslavia's agony and disintegration, and in particular from the stances and ideas of Lord Carrington, we may draw conclusions about this most important element for our decision on participation, for our preparations, for agreement on the stances which we will represent, and our proposals which may serve as a positive contribution to the London conference, the success of which is of vital interest to us.

As indicated in Lord Carrington's invitation, the key question of Yugoslavia's continuity or lack of it, expressed in the aggressive denial of our existence as a state entity, has arisen in its strongest form during the preparations for the conference.

It is obvious that the opponents of our people's vital national and state interests inconsiderately decided to exert pressure on us in respect of the issue of continuity, probably because we are ready to pay the highest price for it.

Although the London conference will nominally be a Conference on Yugoslavia, it will in fact be a conference on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, on Serbia and Montenegro. All fundamental questions will most likely be linked, in one way or another, directly or indirectly with our side in a form of a demand.

After the Brussels meeting with Lord Carrington and other participants on his side, it is absolutely certain that the London conference will examine the end of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, our recognition of the Yugoslav republics within the AVNOJ borders [defined in 1943 by the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the status of Serbs in Croatia, the "special status" of Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina, and, of course, the division of assets. It can be expected that the list of problems, proposals, and decisions will be expanded.

Furthermore, the critical point in our attitude to the conference and its goals is what attitude to adopt—in other words, whether our participation in the conference, as I described earlier, or our failure to respond to the invitation because it was sent to the wrong address, would be beneficial or harmful.

This decision should be taken with sober consideration. This principled decision marks the beginning of consideration of our stands on the issues which will be discussed in London, and there will be discussion of, and decisions taken on, the FRY, a verdict on expulsion from the world community and strict quarantine, with the threat of armed intervention, or rather under the guns of the Sixth Fleet and NATO. The conditions could not be less favorable for us, nor more risky for the success of the conference.

In the hope that the organizer of the London conference will show the necessary respect for reality and rational policies; that the international conference on Yugoslavia will be a democratic process of agreement and negotiation by equals in order to achieve peace on the soil of Yugoslavia and secure of the state-political prerequisites for the restoration of basic national and human rights for all nations of Yugoslavia; that the London conference

will not be a Berlin congress or an inquisitional tribunal in the name of a new order, which will condemn to the political stake this ostracized Satan—Serbia and Montenegro united in the FRY; with the hope, then, that we will defend ourselves as intelligently and honorably as we can, and fight for our national and state interests and wholeheartedly contribute to the best solutions for all Yugoslav nations and for Europe, I call on you, gentlemen, to put forward your views in the most concise form possible.

I ask you not to use this opportunity for party rivalry and pre-election agitation. You will have other opportunities and other audiences for that. In order to conclude our consultations within a reasonable time, I propose to you that individual speeches should not last more than 10 minutes.

Minorities Minister Discusses Kosovo, Vojvodina

AU1908124392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Aug 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Momcilo Grubac, head of the Ministry of Human Rights and National Minorities, by Laszlo Kovacs; place and date not given: "Nation State or Bourgeois Democracy?"]

[Text] According to Prime Minister Panic, the new government of rump Yugoslavia is a government of experts, a government that also has a quite new ministry. We spoke with Momcilo Grubac, the head of the Ministry of Human Rights and National Minorities, about issues relevant to his ministry and about the situation of national minorities in general in the Serbian-Montenegro federation.

[Kovacs] Mr Grubac! What in fact is the task of the new ministry?

[Grubac] Surprisingly enough, it is not easy to answer this question. No Yugoslav government has ever had such a ministry. If I am correct, no other European government has ever created anything like it, although the French have a ministry for humanitarian issues, but the authority of this French ministry is wider than ours. We envisaged this ministry as a special ombudsman to safeguard human rights and national minority rights but, as a government organ, it remains subordinate to official policy. We hope that, on the model of the Swedish ombudsman, we will succeed in making this area independent of government influence after the next constitutional reform. At the moment, therefore, we have a new ministry mainly in charge of guaranteeing and protecting national minority rights. As is well known, there are serious national conflicts in our country, conflicts that seriously threaten human rights and national minority rights. Certain violations of national minority rights are also emerging irrespective of the aforementioned influence. At the initiative of our head of government, we have analyzed the situation and worked out an emergency plan of action to deal with the urgent problems, and this plan is already being implemented.

[Kovacs] There is war in your country and, to put it mildly, these plans are meant for peace time. Did you focus on the task of solving the national minority conflicts because of the government program or because of a real need? It is well known that the unsolved national minority relations were what caused the war in Yugoslavia.

[Grubac] It is the goal of our government to create a bourgeois society as soon as possible, a society in which the individual or the citizen, rather than a nation or a national minority, plays the determining role. Unfortunately, this society, a society that would force the idea of a nation state out of the public ideology and reality, has not been able emerge here in the 20th century. However, we would like to achieve this by the end of the century and, therefore, we must act quickly. If we base our society on the individual citizen, the ethnic problems caused by the idea of a nation state will no longer arise or will be solved much more easily.

[Kovacs] The Yugoslav Government, but mainly the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, is trying to solve the national minority issue—more precisely the Serbian issue—principally by means of war, employing legal means only as a second choice. There is also the Kosovo conflict and the stubborn position of the Kosovo Albanians in refusing to negotiate with either the Serbian leaders or the leaders of Yugoslavia. In Vojvodina, the implementation of the plan of personal and collective autonomy, a plan mainly initiated by the Hungarian national minority there, is also gaining ground. Where will you start solving the problems?

[Grubac] In my opinion, it is too late to implement national programs in either Serbia or elsewhere. Every such initiative has failed, mainly the programs that included the principle of "one country, one nation." I believe that we could solve the Kosovo issue more easily if the European ideal, the ideas of integration and free movement, were also alive in our region, because then the relations between Kosovo inhabited by Albanians and Serbia would look different. The Federal Government will do everything in its power to improve the current dramatic situation. First of all, we are urging the opening of a Serbian-Albanian dialogue, and government representatives have also proposed negotiations with Albanian leaders. However, the Albanians, probably hoping for certain advantages at the Yugoslavia conference in London, have so far been avoiding any dialogue with the Serbs or the federal government.

The situation in Vojvodina is much more favorable. Compared with European standards, the Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, and other national minorities who live in this area have always enjoyed greater rights because, with a Yugoslav passport, they were citizens of the world at a time when the citizens of their mother country could not even dream of such a thing.

My opinion on both Kosovo and Vojvodina is that the problems there should be solved internally, through

negotiations. International aid or arbitration in such sensitive issues often does more harm than good. The results of the good-will services of various international forums so far are a good example.

[Kovacs] How will rump Yugoslavia safeguard the rights of its co-national citizens who are now living in independent neighboring countries, after living in the republics of the former Yugoslav Federation? I am thinking, above all, of the Serbs, because this war broke out because of them too.

[Grubac] In my opinion, there are international political and legal means of guaranteeing these rights. The view has been expressed here that all this must be achieved by war and also that the Serbs should be concentrated within one country, within common borders. The Federal Government does not support these ideas. We have clearly declared that we have no territorial demands toward any country and we do not share the idea that all the Serbs should live within one country.

Justice Minister Fears Civil War if Panic Fails

AU2108093692 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 21 Aug 92 p 4

[Interview with Justice Minister Tibor Varady by Andrej Ivanji in Belgrade; date not given: "If Panic Fails, Civil War Will Be Imminent"]

[Text] [Ivanji] The entire opposition boycotted the elections at the end of May and thus did not recognize, at least not formally, the current Federal Government. You, however, are a member of an opposition party and also justice minister of this government. How does this work?

[Varady] The opposition boycotted the elections because it considered the circumstances of these elections unjust. However, at the moment the Federal Government is neither a government of those who won the elections nor of those who did not participate in them. It is mainly composed of experts, and its most important goal is to prepare a legal basis for early new elections, which are supposed to take place this November. It is, so to speak, an interim solution. Together with the election laws, an amendment to the media laws is to be presented to the federal parliament, because these laws are the conditions for just elections, in which all parties will participate.

[Ivanji] But the majority in this parliament is held by Milosevic's Socialist Party, which tried only recently to nationalize Yugoslavia's biggest media concern.

[Varady] They did not manage to push this law through. I cannot guarantee that we will be able to hold elections in November. But the parliament must understand that new elections are necessary so that we can establish a rule-of-law state, which is recognized by all citizens, and put an end to the chaos.

[Ivanji] Has the government tried to establish a dialogue with the Albanians in Kosovo?

[Varady] Yes, we tried. But this should have been done years ago. In the meantime, the standpoints have become very rigid. The government of Prime Minister Panic is doing everything possible in this respect, but so far it has been in vain because the Albanians doubt our intentions.

[Ivanji] Are you optimistic as regards Yugoslavia's future development?

[Varady] If the government of Prime Minister Panic fails, I am afraid that civil war might break out in Serbia. I am a very moderate optimist.

Agriculture To Lose $1 Billion Due to Sanctions

LD2008185992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav agriculture this year stands to lose one billion dollars from sanctions which the United Nations imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on May 30, the Federal Agricultural Ministry said on Thursday [20 August].

Between 180 and 200 million dollars will be lost from the ban on fruit and vegetable exports, and another 200 million from cancelled orders for the export of wheat and corn.

In the livestock sector, losses are estimated at 200 million dollars, and in sugar refineries at 100 million.

Surplus agricultural produce will have to be stored at large costs. This year's surplus of meat is estimated at 100,000 tons and of sugar at about 150,000 tons.

Another major problem is that the blockade has prevented Yugoslav agricultural producers from purchasing modern equipment and raw materials abroad.

Serbia

Milosevic Sees Serbs as Victims in Yugoslav Crisis

LD2008172392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] During the visit to Belgrade by a CSCE delegation, our special correspondent Zita Senkova asked President Slobodan Milosevic about his stance on the Balkan crisis.

[Begin Milosevic recording, in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous Slovak translation] We, that is Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, are also victims of a cruel war which will not be over as long as power and own interests are at stake. Therefore we welcome the CSCE mission, and if you had not come on your own

initiative we would probably have invited you to see for yourselves the reality, both in Serbia and in Yugoslavia.

We are convinced that the presence of various missions of the CSCE, the United Nations, or other organizations can only contribute to the disclosure of the truth, since no one can conceal reality and truth for a long time and nurture lies. Therefore, you have the chance to see the situation with your own eyes and to tell the world what is the reality and what is distorted information. The presence of the CSCE mission can be beneficial. We are an open country, open to everyone—observers, politicians, or tourists—so that people can see for themselves what is happening here. I am sure that the era of untruths and lies will come to an end one day. In this I am an optimist. [end recording]

Party Leaders on London Conference, Future of FRY

LD2068214992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2104 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia must be represented at the conference in London because the conference deals with this country, Borisav Jovic, the president of the Socialist Party of Serbia, told TANJUG after a consultative meeting which Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic organized with the representatives of parliamentary parties in the federal and republican parliaments.

Jovic said that it must be said at the Conference on Yugoslavia that Yugoslavia has no territorial claims, but adheres to its stand that each nation has the right to decide itself whether it will leave a state or remain in it.

"As far as the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina is concerned, it must be said we do not have territorial claims, but we can recognize it only when all three nations living there agree about its order," Jovic said.

He explained that as far as Croatia was concerned, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could recognize it but "within the borders which are not controlled by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and as a whole only after a political agreement is reached on the territories controlled by UNPROFOR. There are no political problems with Macedonia and Slovenia, Jovic said.

"As far as the continuity of Yugoslavia is concerned, it is clear that the state never ceased to exist. It is not a legal question and this should be clearly stated, unless the aim is to politically abuse Yugoslavia," Jovic said.

The president of the Democratic Party of Serbia, now under foundation, Vojislav Kostunica, told TANJUG that he had posed two important questions at the meeting: How to secure the position of Serbs outside Yugoslavia and how to preserve the wholeness of the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kostunica warned that the greatest danger to the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia lied in the formula of so-called special status to national minorities, which in fact meant a call for the federalization of Serbia with the possibility of its further disintegration.

He also warned that in the field of international communication, ideological and political vocabulary should be replaced by concrete proposals and solutions as soon as possible.

Official Opposes Kosovo Participation in London

LD2108015992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2240 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Pristina, August 20 (TANJUG)—The committee for Kosovo-Metohija of the Serbian Assembly President Momcilo Trajkovic has said that the possible participation of Albanians from Kosovo at the forthcoming internationl Conference on Yugoslavia in London would be a "precedent which would only encourage secessionist forces and lead to conflicts."

Trajkovic made the statement in a talk with the United States Embassy advisor James Swigert in Belgrade, a statement released by the information secretariat in Pristina on Thursday [20 August] said.

Trajkovic considers the proposals to grant special status to the Serbian Province of Kosovo-Metohija a typical example of interference in the internal affairs of another country and the first phase towards the secession of Kosovo-Metohija.

"Such a move by the international community would be a political mistake, the consequences of which would be much more serious than those of the hasty recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Trajkovic assessed. He said that the solution was in Albanians accepting Serbia, dialogue, and respect of minority and human rights.

Trajkovic underscored that the essence of all the problems in Kosovo was that the Albanian side was stubbornly insisting on creating yet another Albanian state in the Balkans.

Commissariat for Refugees Appeals for More Aid

LD2008113492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2253 GMT 18 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 18 (TANJUG)—The Commissariat for Refugees of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Tuesday [18 August] appealed to representatives of the Belgian Parliament and the international humanitarian organization Les Medecines Sans Frontieres to increase the quantity of international humanitarian aid.

As announced by the commissariat, the talks also dealt with the problem of the accommodation of refugees over the winter period.

So far, more than 400,000 refugees from the break-away Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have found shelter in Serbia.

The Commissariat for Refugees also appealed for balanced international programmes in specific branches of health services and education for refugees on the Serbian territory.

The representatives of the Belgian Parliament and Les Medecines Sans Frontieres [words indistinct] would keep up the humanitarian deliveries and bound themselves to inform the international public, after their tour of refugee camps, about facts relating to Serbia's efforts to accept and provide for the refugees.

Government Announces Oil Product Price Hikes

LD2108095892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0333 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—At yesterday's session—chaired by Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic—the Serbian Government decided to raise the retail price of oil products by 59.5 percent, the Republic of Serbia Information Ministry has announced.

The same price hike will be applied to oil derivatives used in agricultural production. However, given the current discounts and subsidies the price raise for these consumers will be 37 percent in real terms, according to the announcement.

The price raise in oil products for consumers in urban and suburban transport and communal waste collection and other services will be 37 percent in real terms because the government has suggested that the turnover tax be reduced from 105 to 70 percent. The fuel price for power generation will be raised by 24.8 percent because the government has waived its 10 percent turnover tax, the announcement states.

Kosovo

'Feeble' Economy Affected by UN Sanctions

LD2008163892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1537 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Pristina, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—Two months after the United Nations imposed sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the situation in the already feeble economy of Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija is deteriorating, the Belgrade daily PRIVREDNI PREGLED writes on Wednesday [19 August].

More than half the staff of about 30,000 employees in 26 major firms in the province are on compulsory or collective leave, the daily points out.

The biggest firm in the province, the Trepca metallurgical complex, which employs 7,500 persons, is operating at half its capacity due to a shortage of coke and lead concentrate.

Because of the blockade, the Glogovac-based Feronikal firm also faces closing down, due to oil and mazut shortages, the daily says.

The shortage of primary products and manufacturing components has forced the factory of shock-absorbers in Pristina to send on compulsory leave 800 of its 1,000 employees.

For the same reason, a factory of seamed tubing in Glogovac has sent more than half its staff of 500 employees on compulsory leave.

The daily reports that the textile factories Kosovka in Pristina and Komuna in Prizren, a leather plant in Pec and the rubber plant Balkan in Suva Reka have stopped production and sent all their employees on annual holidays.

Other factories in the province are also running out of their stocks of imported primary products and manufacturing components. They only work one shift daily and it is a matter of days when their production will stop altogether.

Regulations on Special Measures No Longer Exist

LD2008230592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2148 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 20 (TANJUG)—With last year's adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, regulations with which special measures were introduced in the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija nearly three years ago stopped being in force, the Serbian Justice and Legislation Ministry said on Thursday.

The regulations which apply in Kosovo and Metohija are identical to those in all of Serbia which means that the citizens of Kosovo are in the same position as all other citizens of Serbia, said a statement submitted to the Federal Government. The statement came after the Federal Government demanded that the special measures in the province be officially lifted.

The special measures in Kosovo were introduced under regulations adopted earlier which give special authorization to republican organs in regions where there are organized activities aimed at changing the constitutional order and territorial wholeness of the Republic of Serbia.

At the time, Albanian separatists in Kosovo had organized a series of strikes and protests demanding a Republic of Kosovo and its annexation to Albania.

The Serbian authorities dissolved the Kosovo Parliament after ethnic Albanian deputies tried to illegally proclaim a Republic of Kosovo.

The Serbian Government this year organized several meetings with representatives of parties which rally ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, in order to reach an agreement on the holding of multi-party elections in the province and the constituting of provincial organs of power, the statement recalled, adding that the leaders of parties which rally ethnic Albanians did not reply to the calls.

Ethnic Albanians are the majority population in Kosovo but account for only 15 percent of Serbia's population. Their political leaders have been refusing to take part in the republic's political life in the past two years.

Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo have been openly urging secession from Yugoslavia and annexation to Albania since 1981, and are trying to realize their goal by convincing the international public that they are allegedly being menaced.

A mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which visited Kosovo in May, refuted accusations about militarization of Kosovo and that ethnic Albanians are menaced.

The CSCE countries continued to claim that ethnic Albanians are menaced in Kosovo, completely disregarding the CSCE report.

Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo have papers, radio, television and schools in the Albanian language.

Serbian Police Reportedly Intensify 'Repression'

AU2108092192 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 7 Aug 92 p 5

[R. Grajcevci article: "Serbian Police Have Increased Repression"]

[Text] The Serbian police have greatly intensified repression against the Albanian population recently. A few days ago, two houses were raided in the early morning hours. One of the raided families is that of Ali Bujupi from Arllat. The police alleged they were looking for Ali's son, who escaped from the Croatian front nine months ago and now is in hiding somewhere. The wildness, bloodthirstiness, and repression of the Serbian police were shown in the yard when the Serbian chetniks beat Ali Bujupi in front of his family. To prove the point, they beat Ali's 15-year-old son, hitting him with rifle butts on his chest. After he fainted, they prevented his mother from helping him, but they forced her into the house so she would not see the violence against her husband and son.

A few days later, a horde of Serbian police entered the yard of Rexhep Gashi from Llapushnik alleging that they were looking for his son, who has escaped from the Yugoslav-Serbian Army! What the police did in his house clearly shows the aim of the Serbian police to provoke massive conflicts with the Albanians.

The Serbian police have been investigating the black market in hard currency in Gllogovc for several days, and there have been instances in which they robbed and beat people. What aroused indignation in this area is the case of imprisonment of the young Ilmi Gjoshi from the village of Stankovc in the commune of Pristina, who while coming back from the faculty where he wanted to enroll, with his documents in his hands, was caught by the police. When they saw Ilmi's medical school certificate bearing an eagle [symbol of the Albanian flag] that had been issued by the Education Ministry of the Republic of Kosovo, they arrested him immediately and sentenced him to 60 days' imprisonment.

Mass Media, Newspaper Suppressed by Police

AU2008200992 Tirana ATA in English 0937 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—There is no Albanian newspaper, no information in Albanian in Kosovo either on radio or television, because all Albanian mass media are occupied or banned by the Serb police regime. The sole Albanian newspaper BUJKU of Pristina, which was not issued for three days running, won't come out even tomorrow. This is done on anti-Albanian political intentions of the officials of the printing house. It mentions a lot of false reasons for not printing the Albanian newspapers and magazines.

On the other hand, in Kosovo and in its nearby regions, there are a lot of many significant events, and under such circumstances the Albanian public opinion in Kosovo cannot be informed. So far, information on Kosovo can be taken only from the Albanian radio television and world radios, but in such a case too the Serb regime set up great hindrances not to let them reach Kosovo.

Albanian Lawyers Dismissed From Court System

AU2108111092 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 6 Aug 92 p 7

[V. Bytyci report: "Albanian Lawyers Have Been Dismissed"]

[Text] The occupying Serbian Government continues to purge Albanian cadres in all state bodies, and replace them mainly with Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and a few Turks who have shown loyalty toward the Serbian Government.

On 21 July, the Serbian Assembly decided to dismiss all the Albanian lawyers from the communal courts and the district court of Prizren and thus those courts were turned into pure Serbian bodies.

The Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and a few Turks who are still loyal toward the Serbian Government have taken the places of the Albanian lawyers.

At the communal court the following lawyers have been dismissed: Syle Hoxha, Bajram Hyseni, Fejzullah Berisha, Adem Jetishi, Valdete Daka, Xhemil Elshani, and

Fillim Skoro. At the district court the following lawyers have been dismissed: Pjeter Pergjoka, Sylejman Limani, Ymer Hoxha, Erdogan Haxhibeqiri, Besa Krajku, and Jakup Gurmani. Even though the last two were asked to return, they did not accept to take the oath. Lawyers from the Serbian towns such as Novi Sad, Pirot, and some other places, have come to work here.

The presidencies of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the Albanian Christian Democratic Party, and PPK [expansion unknown] have reacted against this lunatic act.

Education Board Appeals for International Support

AU1908173192 Tirana ATA in English 1207 GMT 19 Aug 92

[Text] Tirana, August 19 (ATA)—The Board of the Wise [name as received] on Education of the Republic of Kosovo addressed an appeal to the UNO, CSCE and UNESCO asking them to put pressure on the Serb regime to halt the escalation of repression on the Albanian school.

This appeal says that the Serbian police regime has dismissed from work 6,870 Albanian teachers, has interrogated in police station 7,000 teachers, pupils and other activists of education, has sentenced over 120 persons from 1 to 15 months of imprisonment, and it is penally prosecuting 100 Albanian leaders of education, has raided the school objects built through the Albanian people's contribution, etc.

Education Ministry Schedules School Year

AU2008153692 Tirana ATA in English 0933 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—On August 19, the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Kosovo announced the decision for commencing the new school year in the elementary and secondary schools in the Republic of Kosovo.

According to this decision, the educational institutions are obliged to draft their working programs till September 15, and it is up to the pedagogical establishment of the Republic of Kosovo in cooperation with the inter communal pedagogical ones to compile the content of these programs and give concrete instructions.

The educational plans and programs will be ready prior to the beginning of the new school year.

The previous school year was held basically in private enterprises and surroundings because of the Serb violence. Contrary to Serbia's desires, the Albanian schools conducted lessons according to the programs of the Republic of Kosovo, a republic which is not yet known by Serbia, but for which has voted the population of Kosovo, where about 90 percent Albanians account for the majority of the population.

Macedonia

President Comments on Upcoming London Conference

LD2008113992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0803 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Skopje, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—President Kiro Gligorov stated in an interview published in today's issue of Skopje's PULS weekly regarding the upcoming international Conference on Yugoslavia that "the London conference is a good opportunity for Macedonia to clearly present Macedonian stances, documents, and arguments."

"The Lisbon decision to the advantage of Greece is a result of the privileged Greek position. However, we will be an equal participant in the London conference," Gligorov said.

According to him, "history shows that all decisions about Macedonia have always been made without Macedonians."

"This time we will not be alone; Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina will be there, as well as Bulgaria, Turkey, Russia, and Albania, which does not contest the Macedonian name and independence, while the attitude of other countries toward Macedonian independence is benevolent."

The main task for Macedonians at the London conference, according to Gligorov, will be to gain independence for Macedonia.

Asked whether changes of borders of this former Yugoslav republic were possible, Gligorov said he did not think so.

"Macedonia has no contentious borders with its neighbors Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania. And Yugoslav Prime Minister Panic also stresses in his letter to the United Nations that he considers borders between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Macedonia definitive," Gligorov said. He added that "U.S. President Bush also considers Macedonian borders inviolable."

"I would like to add that Macedonian borders have been internationally recognized," the Macedonian president said in conclusion in his interview with PULS.

Albanian Party Wants Participation in Conference

LD2108055592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Skopje, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Nevzat Haljilji, chairman of the Tetovo-based Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity, sent a letter to Lord Carrington today.

In the letter, Haljilji informs Lord Carrington that he sent a letter to President Kiro Gligorov on 10 August asking that at least one "legitimate representative of the Albanian nation in Macedonia" be included in the

Macedonian delegation that will participate in the London conference. So far, Haljilji says in the letter no reply has been received.

He then asks Lord Carrington to send an invitation to this party—the legitimate representative of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia—to take part in the London Conference on Yugoslavia.

Government To Amend Citizenship Requirements

LD2008152192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1454 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Skopje, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, whose recognition by the European Community has been vetoed by Greece, on Thursday [20 August] came out with an amendment to a Macedonian citizenship bill which, if passed by the republican assembly, will put in a difficult situation all citizens of former Yugoslavia who have been residing in Macedonia less than 15 years.

The measure will be particulary tough on ethnic Albanians, Serbs and Moslems.

Under the bill, non-Macedonians who have been living in Macedonia for at least 15 years will be eligible for Macedonian citizenship if they have a permanent source of income and if they are above 18. All the others face expulsion.